NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The League's Business

National Conference on Government to Be Held in St. Paul November 28-30

The 1949 National Conference on Government will be held November 28, 29 and 30 in St. Paul, with the Hotel Lowry as headquarters.

The Conference, which has been called annually by the National Municipal League since 1894 (with the exception of the war years 1942-45), will be attended by business and professional men and women, educators, experts on government, representatives of local, county and state civic organizations, public officials and other interested citizens.

The Executive Committee, meeting at the League office May 11, voted to accept the invitation submitted by St. Paul, Minneapolis and Minnesota civic and educational groups. It will be called "The Twin Cities Conference."

This is the first time that St. Paul has been chosen as the conference city. Minneapolis had the second Conference, late in 1894, and a six-state regional Conference was held in Minneapolis in 1940.

Lent Dayton Upson

Lent D. Upson, for many years a prominent figure in governmental research and civic fields, died suddenly in his sleep the night of May 9, 1949. Dr. Upson, who was 62, had a long and distinguished career in his chosen field, beginning with the directorship of the Dayton Bureau of Governmental Research from 1912 to 1915, following his education at the Universities of Wisconsin and Illinois and studies at the New York Training School for Public Service.

In 1944 Dr. Upson resigned as director of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, a post he had held since 1916, to become director of the National Training School for Public Service. He was also dean of the School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University, at the time of his death.

During his long career he was frequently called to direct surveys of local, county and state government. Among the most notable of these was the study of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio, which led to the adoption of a modern city charter in Cincinnati in 1924 that helped that city lose its reputation of being "the worst governed city in America." Another notable service was Dr. Upson's examination of the operations of the National Municipal League which led to basic changes in policy and the transfer of the League's office from Philadelphia to New York in 1920.

Dr. Upson was actively associated with the League for many years, serving at various times as member of its Council and of technical committees. He was an honorary vice president at the time of his death.

Carl Esselstyn McCombs

Dr. Carl E. McCombs, public health authority on the staff of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research—later the Institute of Public Administration —since 1912, died May 6, 1949, at the age of 66 after an illness of several years. Dr. McCombs had made many studies of public health and welfare administration and at various times wrote for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and other publications.

Millard Harrison Satterfield

M. H. Satterfield, professor and acting head of the Department of Political Science at Vanderbilt University since 1948, died late in April after a brief illness at the age of 45. In addition to teaching government at several universities, he had at various times served government in research, consultant and administrative capacities and was the author of works on municipal and county government, particularly in the Tennessee Valley area. He was a Tennessee correspondent for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

Editorial Comment

Good-bye, Mr. Hague

SOME observers see little more than a palace revolution in the recent overthrow of Boss Frank Hague, who ruled and all but ruined Jersey City in autocratic, bruising, everything-goes fashion for 36 years; but this is an over-simplification.

It is quite true that John V. Kenny, wealthy contractor who led the "Freedom Ticket" to victory, was until recently a Hague ally and is the son of the man who gave Hague his political start sweeping out the city hall.

But Mr. Kenny and Mr. Hague are not the same kind of men. For one thing, Mr. Kenny has never made it a practice to use the knuckle and boot on foe and henchman. For another—and this can promise much for the thousands of once abject subjects who danced in the streets the night the tyrant fell—close advisers of Mr. Kenny sought conferences with experts on government weeks ago when it began to become apparent that he might pass the miracle.

The people of Jersey City, most heavily taxed of any United States metropolis, have paid enough to get a good city and a high order of service. They haven't had either.

Mr. Kenny has an opportunity, by eliminating the vast seas of political gravy, to make a great name for himself. But the clear vision and high courage he will need to change the political philosophy and habit of a people who have known nothing but the spoils system, the paying of tribute to the monarch and the fear of his vicious wrath for any disobedience are not easy to achieve in Jersey City.

That the people hated the king and that the loyalty of his army of paid mercenaries was forced was shown by the way in which they flocked to the standard of the first strong man with the intestinal fortitude to lead a revolution that they thought had a chance to win. They knew what would have happened to rebels who lost; theirs would have been a traitor's end.

So the Jersey City vote was, more than anything else, the achievement of freedom from fear. For fear of reprisal was the chief weapon in Jersey City as it is in Boston and is or has been in a great many other communities, large and small.

There were other factors, too, of course, such as prosperity making the small jobs and favors less attractive, substitution of voting machines for the old paper ballots, resentment against paying a high price for a product that was not delivered, loss of state prestige and local power because of a series of governors, beginning with Charles Edison, whom Hague did not "own," and finally the blatant nepotism when the dictator passed his scepter to Frank Hague Eggers, his nephew.

But the feeling that a champion had arisen who could and would protect them from the dictator's displeasure was probably the chief factor in emboldening the electorate to cast off the chains they had worn for a full generation.

Some newspapers hailed Hague's fall as the passing of "the last of the old-style bosses." A pleasant thought but, unfortunately, not true. Curley reigns in Boston. Crump, although shaken by his defeat in the state election last fall, still calls the tune in Memphis. The Philadelphia machine, loaded to the gills with old-style political bosses, is half-blinded by the glare of the searchlight of exposure but can still make the legislature protect it from the voters. And, sh! There are scores of other places where bossism still rides high, where "to the victor belongs the spoils" is accepted doctrine and where "good" citizens submit to blackmail rather than risk tangling with the boss or his friends.

A Bad Job in Hollywood

IN "Colonel Effingham's Raid" Hollywood proved that a motion picture dealing with the fight to achieve good city government could be made popular, entertaining and effective. But those fine results may be brought to nothing by a film now playing the neighborhood theaters.

"Henry the Rainmaker" is the first which frankly sets out to equate a struggle for decent government with crude farce comedy.

Henry, an honest, eccentric attorney, is running for mayor on a platform of better garbage collection and is doing well until the incumbent leaves him without an issue by letting a sanitation contract. Henry continues by capitalizing on a drought and, calling in a professional "rainmaker," invokes a deluge through the use of an impressive display of fireworks.

His apparently assured election boomerangs when the cloudburst takes on the volume of a flood. In a romantic subplot, a young civil engineer, in love with Henry's daughter, is hired by the venal mayor to institute a system of flood control. At the fadeout, Henry, target of the flood-soaked citizenry, has flown to Yellowstone Park, apparently relinquishing his bid for office.

What are the ideas disseminated in this mercifully short yet effective film, the thoughts left in the subconscious minds of those who see it?

First: The good government protagonist is an eccentric, bumbling jackass and is set up for comparison with his campaign manager—a "solid citizen" type—who wishes he had never tied up with the campaigner.

Second: The incumbent, the personification of corrupt venality, is also a fool who, it is clearly implied, is not worth fighting.

Third: The good government force has no issue except an act of God and must resort to charlatanism, quackery and happy coincidence.

Fourth: At the fadeout it is demonstrated that the demands of good government have been satisfied when the young, progressive engineer has taken a job with the corrupt administration and when Henry has abandoned his fight, thus leaving the *status quo* intact.

It is regrettable that Hollywood, probably unwittingly, has chosen to make fun of such a vital matter.

Des Moines Drops Own Plan

City which set style in commission government in 1908 finally wins council-manager form after bitter campaign.

By KATHERINE R. STROUD*

WHEN the voters of Des Moines adopted the council-manager plan on April 30, many realized they had taken a historic step. They had rejected the form of government which civics textbooks called the "Des Moines Plan."

In 1908, when Des Moines citizens adopted that plan, they made genuine improvements upon the first commission government as originated in Galveston, Texas. Perhaps Des Moines voters deserve special praise for having been willing to relinquish their proprietary rights to the commission form in favor of good government.

Graft and corruption which could not be proved in court, bad streets, poor garbage collection, failure to adopt adequate planning and zoning ordinances, and an ever-increasing tax rate were some of the irritants which ultimately produced the movement to adopt the council-manager plan for Des Moines.

An election in 1938 gave the city its first opportunity to vote for the council-manager plan but left the Des Moines plan in the saddle by a vote of two to one. Apparently the voters were not ready to admit that what was needed was a change in form of government rather than a new set of commissioners.

But in the summer of 1948, when one of the newly elected commissioners was jailed on a liquor pay-off charge and then released in a fashion which did not prove his innocence to the average citizen, a new peak in indignation was reached which made the time ripe for a renewed attempt to change the form of government.

In September a group of people gathered to talk about the council-manager plan. By October enough interest was aroused to start a Citizens' Committee for the City Manager Plan. Except for the League of Women Voters the people asked to join were invited as individuals rather than as representatives of organizations.

The preceding spring the league had adopted as its local program the study of the council-manager plan. Information had been gathered during the summer and study groups held in early fall. In November the league polled its members to learn whether they wished to go on record in favor of the council-manager plan. The answer was an overwhelming "yes," and from then on the league was formally a member of the Citizens' Committee. At a luncheon later that month the league introduced the committee to the

*Mrs. Theodore Stroud is president of the League of Women Voters of Des Moines, the organization given major credit for the adoption of the council-manager plan in that city. Previous to her marriage Mrs. Stroud was assistant editor of *State Government*, editorial assistant of Public Administration Service, and staff assistant in public relations for the Chicago Housing Authority.

public and presented the results of a survey it had made of some 70 council-manager cities.

Although Des Moines is not primarily an industrial city labor union members constitute an important political entity, and a sincere effort was made to get labor representatives to join the committee. From the start, however, labor was opposed and each labor union member invited to join replied he could not do so unless labor groups as a whole endorsed the plan.

Labor Opposes

It was decided to go directly to top labor representatives for a conference. Three men were named by labor's coordinating committee to meet with three persons from the Citizens' Committee. As a result of the first meeting, labor's representatives drew up a formal statement to the effect that they would oppose the plan unless eleven specific amendments were made to the Iowa council-manager enabling act for cities of Des Moines' size.[1]

Two more meetings brought substantial agreement on all but one point—however, the Citizens' Committee representatives steadfastly maintained that the enabling act was a good one and that they would seek change only in order to insure united support for the plan. The point on which it was not possible to reach agreement concerned salaries of councilmen. The code provides for $300 per year but labor's representatives felt the job would be full-time and should carry a $5,000 salary.

[1]Chapter 419, Code of Iowa, 1946.

Representatives of the Citizens' Committee maintained that the job would be part-time and should carry a part-time salary so that it would attract candidates seeking the post as a means of public service rather than for the sake of salary. Although replies to a questionnaire sent to the sixteen cities of 100,000 to 250,000 population using the plan proved the job to be part-time, labor leaders still insisted on $5,000. The Citizens' Committee offered unsuccessfully to compromise. By early January negotiations had ceased and the Citizens' Committee commenced to circulate the petitions necessary to call a special election.

In February a state legislator from Waterloo, Iowa, where the plan had been defeated a short time before, introduced a bill that would have met labor's demands on virtually every point at issue in the Des Moines campaign. The Citizens' Committee then invited labor's coordinating committee to join hands and work for passage of the Armstrong bill. But once more there was refusal and it was obvious that the campaign must be fought with labor in the opposition camp.

Although this was disappointing to the Citizens' Committee it was no surprise, for labor had fought the plan in every city in Iowa where a similar movement was started and had spearheaded movements to abandon it in other Iowa towns and cities. In the Des Moines campaign it seemed apparent that labor leaders were opposed from the first but had sought acceptable reasons for opposition by cavilling over the law.

In addition to fighting the cam-

paign with labor opposition, supporters of the council-manager plan found themselves faced with fierce opposition from the elements. The worst winter in decades put thick layers of ice and snow on the streets and it took real courage to trudge up to houses and get petitions signed.

It was necessary to secure signatures equal to 10 per cent of the number of registered voters in each of the two townships which compose Des Moines. Labor's stronghold lies historically in Lee Township—east of the Des Moines River—and opponents of the plan were quick to stir up ancient east side vs. west side sentiments. Many were afraid to sign petitions and there were weeks when all but the most stout-hearted wrote off the campaign as a lost cause.

Break in the Weather

The delay in securing the required number of petition signers proved to be a blessing since it gave additional time for needed education of the voters and put the election date well into spring and good weather. The date was finally set for April 30, a Saturday, chosen because the council hoped it would help bring out the "no" votes among labor union members. Actually, Saturday was a good day for bringing out "yes" votes, with warm sunny weather all day long.

In the months which preceded the filing of petitions, various media were used for education purposes: a comparatively small number of talks by supporters before miscellaneous club groups, dozens of debates before groups who felt they must not "take sides," a brief general leaflet about the plan, a letter to all city employees reassuring them of their civil service and veteran's preference guarantees, radio programs on public service time, and statements issued to press and radio.

But from the first the League of Women Voters realized that it would be necessary to get into the homes of Des Moines with the message. They therefore prepared for the Citizens' Committee a twenty-page booklet telling how the plan would work and assumed responsibility for securing precinct captains and block workers to cover the city as thoroughly as possible. They addressed penny postcards to petition signers and, so far as possible, looked up their phone numbers.

Once the election date was set, the committee had to make several quick decisions about the conduct of the remainder of the campaign. Old newspaper files revealed that the 1938 campaign had centered on the graft and corruption of the incumbent council and that public debates had been almost the only educational technique.

In contrast, except for the opening speech, the 1948-49 fight concentrated on the faults of the commission plan rather than on the defections of council members. Furthermore, since the debate experience of the current campaign had proven that more heat than light was generated, the committee decided to refuse all debate invitations during the last month.

Opponents of the plan began to attack the personalities of supporters but the Citizens' Committee

concluded it would be best to ignore the irritating lies and half-truths rather than try to answer each one and, in so doing, lose sight of the major points at issue.

Walter J. Millard of Cincinnati, who was called to make a series of talks during the final week, focussed attention on reports that gambling interests were filling opposition campaign coffers. His rhetorical skill, his knowledge of municipal government, and his calmness in the face of rowdyism on the part of opposition leaders threw the "no" crowd completely off balance.

During the last two weeks the opposition highlighted its campaign with talks by a dozen or more lawyers almost none of whom had previously said anything publicly about the proposal. In addition, it plastered "no" signs—in violation of a city ordinance—on almost every telephone pole in town.

Arguments of the opposition ultimately boiled down to two points: first, the council-manager plan is a dictatorship; second, everything's lovely as it is. It put out a flamboyant publication, in newspaper format, and paid a miscellaneous assortment of people to leave it on door steps. And it used a great deal of paid radio time and newspaper advertising in contrast to the minimum use of these media by supporters of the plan.

Meanwhile the league and the groups and individuals whose support it had enlisted made their rounds of the city, ringing doorbells and giving voters the illustrated booklet *Let Your City Serve You.* They put across this message: "Get the facts. Then vote as your conscience guides."

The postcards addressed to petition signers were mailed carrying a message reminding them to vote and to get their friends to vote. Then the phones began ringing the night before election day and all election day, reminding thousands of registered voters to go to the polls.

It is never possible to say what has won an election. But it is apparent that widespread dissatisfaction with the then current council was not sufficient to win in 1938. Perhaps the complexion of the opposing groups in 1949 was a deciding factor for many voters, since the vocal "no's" amounted almost entirely to lawyers, officeholders and city employees afraid of their jobs; while leaders of the "yes" group included ministers, educators, mothers and housewives and a good sampling of professional workers and small businessmen and women.

Women the Victors

But the big difference between the two campaigns would seem to center on the role of the women. In 1949, to quote the Des Moines *Sunday Register* on the day after election: "From start to finish, it was the women of the city who played the major role in obtaining the city manager form of government for Des Moines. The league initiated the manager move five months after the present council took office, organized the campaign, enlisted the support of organizations and individuals—and delivered the all-important vote which carried the plan."

(Continued on page 277)

Spending for a Better Flint

Costly improvement program to make up for 'drought' of depression and war years guided by taxpayers' group.

By G. KEYES PAGE*

SPURRED by a reawakening of civic pride and a keen realization of how much "deferred maintenance" has accumulated in the physical plant of the city and its schools since the early 30s public-spirited citizens and officials of Flint, Michigan, have taken a long step forward toward the solution of that community's improvement problems.

During a depression-born and war-extended period of fifteen years, the "Motor City" has suffered from one of the most completely arid droughts in public improvements on record. Its last new school building was constructed in 1929. Its ever swelling volume of traffic has been snarled and disrupted both by lack of adequate parking facilities and lack of capacity and numbers of bridges over the Flint River which bisects its business district. Its park system has not kept pace with population moves and increases.

Many of its public buildings have outlived their usefulness. Its water and sewage disposal systems have been outdistanced by the growing demands on existent facilities and, despite valiant efforts by its department of public works, many of its streets have attained a startling resemblance to the design of one of grandmother's more ambitious patchwork quilts.

A few simple statistics emphasize the story. With a population of about 160,000 and an assessed valuation approaching the $300,000,000 mark, expenditures for public improvements since mid-depression days have averaged about FIVE CENTS PER CAPITA PER YEAR.

The fault has not been lack of appreciation of the needs or of adequate planning to meet them. Flint boasts one of the most effective and able planning commissions among cities of its size. Its park and hospital boards have more than kept pace, in their planning, with the growing burden of the functions which they administer. And the department of public works, with long-range, over-all plans always on tap and up to date, has repeatedly performed miracles with the limited number of dollars and materials at its disposal.

There have been three main causes of the atrophy. First, and regardless of need, there could have been little serious thought given to construction plans during the late 30s when the population was primarily concerned with the survival problems of meals and roofs. Second,

*Mr. Page has been executive vice president of the Civic Research Council of Flint (formerly Genesee County Taxpayers Association) since 1946. Prior to that time he was, successively, a field representative of the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of New York State, the first director of the Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, associated with the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey and executive secretary of the Good Government Association of St. Joseph, Missouri.

the wartime shortage of labor and materials, coupled with all-out efforts toward national survival, left neither room nor time for other considerations.

And then there was the problem of funds—Flint and other so-called 15-mill cities in Michigan were prohibited from increasing tax rates above the level of $15 per $1,000 of assessed valuation for the combined purposes of city, county and schools except by a two-thirds majority vote of the electorate and then for a period not to exceed five years.

Tax Limitation Relaxed

Much of the rigidity of these restrictions was eased by action of the 1948 special session of the Michigan legislature and a majority vote of the state electorate at the November 1948 election. But the very loosening of the controls poses the potential threat of too much license and therefore makes doubly important a careful, impartial scrutiny of proposals for major expenditure increases.

Prior to the action of the legislature and the election, however, forces had been started in motion to overcome some of the community's most glaring physical deficiencies on a balanced, businesslike and economically sound basis. As has been said, comprehensive plans were not lacking and the needs were many and patent.

But there was the danger that, if separate programs were launched by the city, the schools, and the park and hospital boards, the pendulum of drought would swing too quickly to the flood stage and the most vitally needed projects and programs would be drowned out in the deluge of requests for unaccustomed millions of dollars.

Reactions both locally and abroad advance the probability that, as a news item, the well worn phenomenon of a man biting a dog is completely overshadowed by the spectacle of a taxpayers' association assuming a position of leadership in a program to spend money—for almost any purpose.

Be that as it may, it was the Research Council of Flint—then the Genesee County Taxpayers Association—which initiated the movement to coordinate the plans, hopes and desires of the various local, official groups to the end that a sane, impartially classified program might be evolved with sufficiently varied appeal to receive wide public support and with costs well within the ability of the community to pay.

In December 1947 invitations were sent by the organization to representatives of the planning commission, the city commission, the board of education, and the park and hospital boards to meet informally and discuss the possible merits of the idea. The response was unexpectedly enthusiastic and the first meeting led to others during the first three months of 1948.

All agencies readily submitted their immediate and long-range plans, tentatively rated as to priority of need and accompanied by various suggested ways and means of financing the estimated costs. This material was assembled by the Research Council staff for the use of the group and, by late March 1948, had

reached the sizeable total of 127 separate projects with an estimated cost of $40,739,843.

The requests comprised 23 sanitary projects (including storm and sanitary sewers and expansion of the water department); 36 projects for off-street parking, new bridges and cross-town routes; eighteen new city buildings—including endorsement of a comprehensive civic center development and expansion of airport facilities; 27 park projects; five proposals for expanding the capacity of the city-owned hospital and construction of a convalescent home; and nine new school buildings as well as complete rehabilitation of the existing school plant.

Citizens Committee Appointed

The group unanimously concluded, at a final meeting in March, that the material needed careful study and impartial but substantial screening which should most properly be undertaken by a qualified and wholly unprejudiced group having a quasi-official standing but wholly devoid of controls over its independent thinking.

It was therefore recommended that a Citizens Committee be appointed by the mayor; that its composition include no representatives from local officialdom or any of the boards, agencies and commissions participating in the informal discussions; and that the findings and recommendations of the committee be used ultimately as the basis of a community-wide selling campaign for the program by a second and much larger committee of widely representative citizens. The informal group then disbanded.

On May 12, 1948, the Mayor's Fact Finding Committee was appointed by Mayor Edward J. Viall. It consisted of 37 men and women and included representatives of business, industry, banks, the legal and medical professions, organized labor, women's clubs, veterans and the parents' and teachers' council.

At the organization meeting Robert E. White was selected as general chairman and committee members were assigned to six main study groups: sanitary projects; streets, bridges and parking; civic center, airport and other buildings; parks; hospitals; and schools.

In addition three advisory groups were designated covering financing, legalities and research. The services of the Research Council staff and the facilities of its office were made available, without cost, to the Fact Finding Committee.

The subcommittees were directed to study the material and requests assembled and to classify approved projects into three groups: (1) those needed immediately, (2) those having the next greatest importance; and (3) those which, although desirable, could be deferred.

The financial and legal advisory groups were directed to study the subcommittee findings and recommendations and evolve an equitable, long-range plan for financing top priority projects within the limits of existing taxing authority.

During the period of study and analysis, subcommittee progress reports were made and the over-all program continuously coordinated

through bi-weekly meetings of the general chairman and subcommittee chairmen.

Report to Mayor

The final report of the Fact Finding Committee was submitted to Mayor Viall on October 27, 1948, after approximately five months of effort involving an estimated 1,200 to 1,500 man-hours of work.

The committee concentrated on those top priority projects which, in its opinion, could be financed only through direct tax levies or the issuance of full faith and credit obligations of the city of Flint and the Flint school district.

It was the committee's thinking that projects for which an equal need existed, but the financing of which would logically take the form of revenue and special assessment obligations, diversion of state-collected taxes, federal and state grants and private bequests, required additional technical engineering studies, special elections and extended negotiations which the Fact Finding Committee was neither qualified nor appointed to develop.

The specific top priority recommendations comprised city, park and hospital improvements estimated to cost $5,884,350 and school buildings and rehabilitation estimated to cost $3,769,052—a total of $9,653,402. Individual undertakings on which immediate action was urged included seventeen storm and sanitary trunk sewers; fourteen bridges, new cross-town routes and intersection realignments; acquisition of the site for the civic center and a start on expansion of the airport; twelve park developments; addition of two wings to the city hospital; and construction of three elementary schools, an addition to an existing high school and more than $1,000,000 of rehabilitation of the present school plant.

The recommended financing plan was expressed in terms of twenty year, 2½ per cent general obligation bonds of the city and the school district. It was pointed out that this method would involve an annual additional cost to taxpayers of $2 per $1,000 of assessed valuation for the city, parks and hospital program and $1.25 per $1,000 for the school program.

Financing Future Projects

It was recommended that, in order to provide for the construction of "next most important" projects prior to the maturity of the twenty year bonds, an aggregate of $5 per $1,000 (rather than the minimum requirement of $3.25 per $1,000) be earmarked for public improvement purposes. The conservativeness of the financing proposals was emphasized by the statement that, after giving effect to the issuance of the general obligation bonds, Flint's debt would amount to only $72 per capita and be equivalent to only 3¾ per cent of present assessed valuation.

In contrast to the unenviable record of practically no public improvements during the past fifteen years, the city of Flint and Flint schools now have a sane, carefully screened and economically sound blueprint for a better community. Sincere, unselfish effort on the part of a thoroughly representative, im-

partial and businesslike group of citizens produced that blueprint.

Action on the recommendations of the Fact Finding Committee is now squarely and properly the responsibility of the city commission and the board of education. Their problem is by no means an easy one. Flint taxpayers are facing the practical certainty of an increase in their tax bills because of the action of the 1948 legislature and the voters at the November election.

Now Up to Officials

It remains to be seen whether or not city and school officials can successfully withstand pressure for increases in their respective operating budgets and thus make possible direly needed capital improvements without exceeding the relatively moderate local tax limits which now prevail.

One thing is certain. Through the voluntary, spontaneous action of civic minded groups and individuals, a long step forward has been made. Another thing is highly probable. The effective nucleus of citizens, welded together through five months of study and resultant appreciation of the community's needs, can undoubtedly be expanded and rallied to the support of any constructive program which may ultimately be advanced by local officials for a better Flint.

DES MOINES

(Continued from page 272)

The fact that the plan carried by a margin of only 810 votes has made a good many slightly cynical voters realize that their votes do count. And the fact that the election was won by amateurs has renewed their faith in the democratic process.

There is a real awareness on the part of those who favored the council-manager plan that the events of election day are the beginning rather than the end of the campaign for good government in Des Moines. Between now and the next city election in March 1950 a way must be found to draft a slate of candidates who will represent adequately all sections of Des Moines and who will, when elected, appoint a capable city manager.

To quote the *Register* editorial of May 2, "Des Moines in 1950 has been handed a fresh opportunity to rise above mediocrity in its government and become one of the most distinguished cities in the nation. Let us use this opportunity wisely and well, all working together as good citizens."

If the women of Des Moines wish to keep their laurels for winning the April 30 election, they must accept the role of "watchdogs of good government." It seems likely that they now have a mind to do so.

500 'Non-political' Elections

Model Charter cities find choosing a good council needs no selfish guidance; but high-minded leadership helps.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

THE PURPOSE of the *Model City Charter*[1] is not to ensure good government—after all no automobile can be so designed that it will take you willy-nilly to church on Sundays. The purpose is to make the municipal mechanism sensitive to local mass opinion, when there is any; sensitive to mass opinion as distinguished from that of some self-serving 3 per cent called "politicians," "bosses," or "machines," who may have been misusing the powers of office to intrench themselves against dislodgement.

The National Municipal League's remedies consist of so correcting the all too common defective mechanisms of popular action so that democracy can "democ" without dependence upon a tight little ruling class of political machinists. Efficient high purposed administration is merely the incidental result to be anticipated if the elective officers are all indebted for their posts to the rank and file of the voters rather than to self-serving powerful political go-betweens.

In its attempt to make life so easy for the voters that the whole mass of them can do what they please and know what they are doing on election day, the *Model Charter* provides a "short ballot" for the election of a small number of councilmen, whose importance is calculated to be sufficient to attract intensive public scrutiny.

This condition facilitates the use of *nonpartisan* elections since the voter can accumulate and carry in his head his brief list of personal preferences and do without guidance of party names and symbols on the ballot or voting machine. Nonpartisan elections are in use in 58 per cent of American cities and, in the southern one-party states, the Democratic primaries provide a similar condition in many more.

A questionnaire from the League's office to newspapers, chambers of commerce and managers in January 1949 brought replies from 48 cities of over 5,000 population which have had ten years or more experience with the nonpartisan council-manager plan.

I

The answer to the query, "Do Republican or Democratic city committees throw their weight, officially or unofficially, openly or covertly, despite the nonpartisan theory of the elections?", was universally "no" with these three partial exceptions:

AUBURN, Maine, (population 19,817; plan adopted 1918): "Sometimes the Republican or Democratic committees will take a hand in the election and endeavor

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[1]National Municipal League, 1948. 172 pages. $1.50.

to get a particular candidate to run but we believe that this is the exception rather than the rule."

DUBUQUE, Iowa, (43,892; 1920): "There was an unexpected shake-up in the March 1948 elections. A young attorney and a filling station operator were elected to the council with the backing of the Democratic central committee in Dubuque County . . . the first time there was any contest."

CLIFTON, New Jersey, (48,827; 1934): "In our last election, 1946, the Democrats did endorse and sponsor one candidate, but that situation was without precedent."

The testimony from the 45 others runs typically as follows:

MINOT, North Dakota, (16,577; 1933): "I do not believe that the Republican or Democratic organizations pay any attention whatever to the elections of city officials."

VISALIA, California, (10,363; 1923): "The Republican and Democratic committees take little if any interest in the city elections; they never express themselves publicly and since our town is only a little over 10,000 population and about evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats, the men run on their own merit and reputation for past civic service."

WATERTOWN, New York, (33,385; 1920): "It is an unheard of thing to have a Republican or Democratic city committee become interested as such in municipal elections."

II

In 22 of the 48 cities candidates usually or always just get on the ballot by petition as individuals and scramble for votes on their own initiative:

PITTSBURG, California, (10,841; 1919): "All councilmen in our city get on the ballot as individuals and scramble for votes on their own initiative. In some cases citizen groups select citizens and persuade them to run. Candidates do not get together and campaign as slates or tickets."

NACOGDOCHES, Texas, (7,538; 1932): "The candidates announce for office at their own discretion in most cases. To the best of my knowledge the practice of party or group sponsorship has never been followed in this city."

CORAL GABLES, Florida, (8,294; 1925): "Candidates merely announce and pay their qualifying fee before the final date. There are no parties and no groups sponsoring candidates. At one time there was a taxpayers association which sponsored a group of candidates but it no longer is in effect."

FORT ATKINSON, Wisconsin, (6,153; 1931): "To date no candidate has been publicly sponsored by a group or organization."

WAYCROSS, Georgia, (16,673; 1923): "In Waycross candidates announce as individual candidates in the Democratic primary, and nomination in the primary is tantamount to election. Slate of candidates is rare. Three candidates ran on an 'all for one—one for all' slate in the last primary, two years ago, and slate was defeated to the man."

MIAMI BEACH, Florida, (28,012; 1933): "Individuals who wish the honor of service on the city council and who usually have a 'cause' or two to promote, which they feel would improve conditions or correct what they consider municipal operation evils, announce their candidacies. Each conducts his own campaign, appearing before any groups who will hear him and participating in a series of rallies in various neighborhoods where local business or social groups arrange for the rally. There have been no candidates proposed by citizens groups. Since 1943 there have been no instances where candidates got together and ran as a 'ticket'; it is every man for himself."

III

The marked strength of incumbents when coming up for reelection under *Model Charter* conditions is a feature of this and other evidence. When all the incumbents seek reelection, they seem to enjoy a decided advantage, so much so that frequently no equally responsible candidates, and sometimes no candidates at all, take the field against them. The incumbents sometimes

link arms and act as a team, defending each other, speaking from the same platform and letting themselves be listed together as a slate.

If a vacancy occurs in mid-term, they have power to fill the vacancy and the man thus chosen benefits by coming to the next election with the prestige of being an incumbent. Thus incumbents, filling the vacancies in their own ranks, may procure the persistent reelection of a slowly changing council in a considerable succession of uncontested or easily won perfunctory elections. These quotations illustrate the phenomenon:

San Diego, California, (362,658; 1932): "All of the city councilmen, except one, and the mayor have originally gained office by being appointed to councilmanic and mayoralty vacancies and have subsequently been elected while running as incumbents."

Kalamazoo, Michigan, (54,097; 1918): "We have a 'slate' form of choosing candidates. As a general rule, some of the commissioners run again and they choose or ask others to 'run' with them. Labor usually puts up a candidate and may choose several of the present commissioners to serve on their 'slate.' There is an overlapping as a result."

So the evidence of this sampling is that under the conditions set up by the *Model City Charter*, nonpartisan elections are practical, voters need no partisan label and it becomes feasible for candidates and voters to transact their mutual business through ten to thirty years of biennial municipal elections without aid or intervention of political machines or even of organized leadership!

IV

However, there is evidence that in these simple and open political arenas a committee or civic association can perform high service and that in lack of it a city may elect mediocrities from a list of self-advanced mediocrities and provide the manager with dull-witted cooperation. A committee of citizens who have no private axes to grind and whose ability and selflessness are widely recognized, can under these conditions exert a wholesome influence by providing a little timely leadership. Of course, to be able to lead they must be leaders; the three tailors of Dooley Street can't do it!

The committee or the governing board of the citizens association must be of suitably mixed character, above wards and factions and beyond reproach. It can watch and review the performance of councilmen and, when election approaches, it can urge good incumbents to run again. It can single out citizens and ask them to run and engage to make the campaign easy for them by raising the campaign funds and providing experienced guidance.

The best men are unlikely to have the kind of brass it takes to seek office unasked. But a considered request from such a group is a fine compliment and able men will assent as they do when a nominating committee asks a member to be deacon of the church or treasurer of the hospital. The committee can assemble a balanced ticket and focus the good government vote on its candidates, preventing its scatteration to other good candidates, which might let in political adventurers.

The great effectiveness of a citizens committee to focus the good

government vote is exhibited over 34 years by the experience of Dayton where the people have followed such leadership so consistently through eighteen successive biennial elections that committee-endorsed men have always constituted a majority of the council.[2]

Something of this sort is habitual or invariable in 23 of the 48 cities, and is thus described:

Citizen Slates

HAYS, Kansas, (6,385; 1919): "I doubt seriously whether there has been a time when anyone has allowed his name to be placed on the ballot without more or less a promotion of a group of progressive citizens."

SAN DIEGO, California, (362,658; 1932): "In four of the six districts, alert civic-minded neighborhood organizations seek acceptable candidates, circulate petitions and finance the primary campaign. In two councilmanic districts, neighborhood interest is less evident. In these districts candidates must take more individual initiative and thus the primary campaign may be frequently lacking in civic zeal. These latter two present a city-wide civic problem because of the cosmopolitan character of the residents."

JANESVILLE, Wisconsin, (22,992; 1923): "Down through the years in Janesville very few have voluntarily submitted themselves as candidates. For the most part, the men that have served on council have done so at the insistence and inducement of a group of citizens interested in good government. In Janesville this group is called the Public Relations League. It is a voluntary group that operates without officers or memberships. In order to belong, the only requisite is to be interested in good government.

"When the time for filing for candidates comes around, any one of a number of persons may call a meeting of this group to discuss possible candidates. After the prospects have been thoroughly thrashed over, the committee will decide on certain prospects to fill the vacancies and then endeavor to induce their prospects to run. Once committed to run, the committee will back their choices with ads in the paper saying that they have been endorsed by the Public Relations League. They will also see to it that some leg work in the various wards is done for the men, if it is necessary."

VISALIA, California, (10,363; 1923): "Usually a group of responsible citizens confer with persons who they feel could adequately fill the qualifications, to find out if they would serve if elected. Sometimes there are competing groups of citizens, although not always. Occasionally individuals file and run on their own initiative."

WICHITA FALLS, Texas, (45,112; 1928): "Leading business men try to induce substantial men to permit their names to go on the ballot and in the majority of cases this is what happens. Occasionally, an off-brand fellow representing some minority group or with a selfish motive just cracks down and announces. Seldom does one like this get elected."

GASTONIA, North Carolina, (21,313; 1919): "Another method which has worked with better results than any other in Gastonia is the 'slate' conceived and planned by a group of honest local citizens. It's easier to get good candidates by this method where they know that they will have the support of outstanding citizens. We have never had any scandals in our city government, nor any axes to grind by local people whereby they would want to stuff the council and this slate method, when employed, has brought us good councilmen."

TEANECK, New Jersey, (25,275; 1930): "The Teaneck Taxpayers League has consistently sponsored a group of able men whom their committee on candidates selected after a real search to find men who would make good councilmen, who would take the job and who could be elected. In 1930 they elected their entire ticket, in 1933 they beat a recall, in 1934 they elected their entire ticket, in 1938 they elected three out of five, in 1942 they elected four out of five and in 1946 they again elected their entire ticket."

EAST CLEVELAND, Ohio, (39,495; 1918): "In 1916 and 1917 about two dozen prominent public spirited East

[2] See "It's a Habit Now in Dayton," by Richard S. Childs, NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1948.

Cleveland citizens campaigned successfully to have a charter commission elected which in turn drew a city manager plan charter which was adopted by the voters effective January 1, 1918. The same citizens drafted five prominent and able citizens to run for city commissioners and they were elected. The same group of citizens and their successors over the years have continued to seek out and draft prominent citizens to run for city commissioners."

ESCANABA, Michigan, (14,830; 1922): "It very seldom happens that a man decides to run for councilman of his own accord and without the backing of one or more organizations. This has happened, but is more or less exceptional. Ordinarily the business group tries to obtain a distribution of men covering labor and business and will back up such a slate. This does not happen, however, at every election."

SALINA, Kansas, (21,073; 1921): "There exists a group of public spirited citizens that try to prevail upon some prominent citizens, who they feel will make good commissioners, to run and then throw their support back of the individuals' campaign. Most of our elections are quiet with very little publicity. It is more a matter of getting high class, public spirited citizens to run for the office than it is in fervent, highly activated campaigns. The people usually support the high caliber type of man if one can be prevailed upon to run."

ST. JOSEPH, Michigan, (8,963; 1929): "In promoting the plan prior to its adoption, a citizens committee, largely self-appointed, of 49 civic minded members, was formed, which committee . . . with other like-minded citizens, campaigned for its adoption and the election of a charter commission. This campaign was successful and the charter was approved and the plan went into effect in October 1928.

"This committee approved and backed the members elected to the original commission, who were elected over a large field of other candidates, each running for their own specific reason. There is still a nucleus of this committee, with additions of like-minded citizens, which is still very active and keeps in close touch with city affairs and when there is to be a vacancy have always selected a candidate for replacement.

"Over the years there have been many individuals running on their own initiative and there have been some running with the backing of selfish groups but there has never been a candidate elected who did not have the approval of the citizens committee."

The largest of the cities reported on here is San Diego, 362,658 population. The principle alters when cities reach such size as Philadelphia or Boston for there is a limit to the area beyond which the mere size and cost of the task of conducting an effective canvass deter independents and amateurs and leave any standing army of political mercenaries with a monopoly of hopeful nominations.

Summary

In the 48 medium-sized and small cities, this testimony covering over 500 elections demonstrates that politics without politicians is actually with us! It can be found in lucky cities under other types of charter too, no doubt; particularly in cities of homogeneous population like some of our suburbs and in stable old communities.

Under ideal *Model Charter* conditions the election process can run alone, it seems; that condition removes the adventitious powers of vested intrenched interests and facilitates appearance of natural leadership by making the duty and effort to lead less intolerably burdensome to capable responsible citizens who have other things to do.

Conditions in which the natural leaders of all groups who come forward to get a hospital built or to conduct a community chest drive can figure effectively in

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Better Look Before You Fly

Communities should make careful survey of airport needs and not 'plan by intuition', says aeronautical consultant.

By WALTHER PROKOSCH*

DEVELOPMENT of airports in the United States is undergoing rapid expansion. In 1945 there were some four thousand airports of all types in the nation; by 1949 this figure had increased to approximately six thousand. It is estimated that the expenditure of federal and local funds for airport construction under the federal airport act will exceed $70,000,000 this year. In the recent authoritative book, *Terminal Airport Financing and Management*, the authors estimate that capital investment in terminal-type airports will exceed three-quarter billion dollars by 1960.[1]

The reasons for this rapid growth are not difficult to determine. Developments in commercial-type aircraft over the past two decades have been significant. Greater comfort, greater speed and greater safety are offered. Parallel with these technical developments has been the growth of commercial air transport companies. Less significant has been development of the private airplane and the increase in private flying.

Development of all types of flying was greatly accelerated by wartime activities in the air. Finally the national airport plan providing federal aid to local communities on a 50-50 basis over a seven-year period is a stimulus of real strength.

The majority of civil airports are financed and sustained by local governments. Thus the municipality is faced with the problem of providing funds for a new type of civic development in addition to meeting increased costs in other public services.

Not too long ago a community of moderate size in a populous eastern state built a modern airport with paved runways 4,000 feet long, a terminal building and several hangars. Pressure from well intentioned but not well informed civic groups resulted in the rapid development of the airport to "keep our town on the air map." Unfortunately the airport commission, with the best of intentions but with understandable lack of technical knowledge, called for a type and size of airport far in excess of the needs of the community—another "monument to progress" which is consuming municipal funds at a greater rate and for more years than necessary.

This community could have been spared the investment of a sizeable amount of public funds by first authorizing an economic survey to de-

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[1]Lynn L. Bollinger, Alan Passen, and Robert E. McElfresh. Harvard University Press, 1947.

termine its air traffic potential and airport needs.

Such a study would have explored the relationship between expenditure and income of this new facility and would thus have given the taxpayers a more concrete picture of what they were getting into when they voted for the bond issue. Such a survey would have provided facts and figures justifying the new undertaking. Instead, planning was done by intuition with a consequent better than average chance of missing the mark.

Any airport planning study should be composed of three major divisions: (1) the economic survey already mentioned, with which this article deals; (2) planning and engineering should be undertaken based upon the statistics provided by the economic survey; (3) cost estimates and a projected income statement should be prepared based upon the results of (1) and (2).

Major objectives of the economic division of a survey are these:

1. Forecast of commercial air traffic (passenger, mail, cargo),
2. Forecast of private airplane ownership and use,
3. Forecast of local non-private flying (charter, crop dusting, etc.),
4. Area location of airports to permit generating the maximum traffic,
5. Determination of types of airports required to satisfy forecasts, and approximate dates when increases in size or number will be required,
6. Estimate of approximate size of terminal and airplane parking apron,
7. Estimate of hangars required by type.

First step in the preparation of the survey is collection of data of a pertinent nature. Unfortunately, no fixed definition can be offered for the word "pertinent." Here the skill, judgment and experience of the surveyor must be fully employed. Each community has its own make-up, its own set of characteristics that "make it tick." The engineer must assess each community or region in the light of these characteristics; he must become acquainted with its history, since in history there lies a lesson for the future. When he has gotten the feel of the area, the engineer can select indices with greater assurance that they will be valid.

Suggested Indices

As an illustration of the type of indices used, a survey recently completed for a large metropolitan district of predominantly industrial character used retail sales, consumer income, bank deposits, payrolls, value of products, value added.

The indices are assembled for the area under study, the region in which it is located and the nation as a whole in order to evaluate the economic strength of the area relative to its region and the nation. By comparing economic indices with past activity in aeronautics it can be determined whether the community is holding its own in this respect.

Next, national forecasts must be prepared for commercial air traffic in passengers, mail and cargo. These are based upon a correlation of available authoritative estimates

mpered by the national and inter-ational outlook.

Local traffic figures can then be rojected by applying the local fac-r for the pertinent indices to the ational forecasts. The resultant fig-res can be checked by requesting irline estimates of traffic forecast r the same period. If the com-unity has no air service at the time the survey, forecasts can be re-uested from those carriers who have ade application for service.

Use of Questionnaires

A further check on these fore-asts, as well as those for other types aviation activity, has been used ith success. Questionnaires may be nt to a cross-section of the com-unity, preferably under the aegis the local chamber of commerce business association. This pro-edure has an added benefit—the eeling of participation and personal terest in the community's air roblems which is generated by a ell constructed questionnaire.

The extent of ownership of pri-ate airplanes can be gauged by the ability to buy" of the local popu-ace and by the "willingness to buy." bility to buy can be measured by er capita indices such as bank de-osits, retail sales, consumer income s related to trends in costs of air-raft and costs of operation. Will-ngness to buy is influenced by local eography—proximity to other popu-ous areas, weather and terrain favor-ble to flying, airport location with espect to residential areas, availa-ility of competent maintenance ser-ice and similar factors.

The correlation between local and national plane ownership in the past can be plotted. Future national estimates are projected in a manner similar to commercial estimates. Local indices based upon ability and willingness to buy are applied to the national figures. The resultant estimates can then be checked by projecting the trends indicated by the past relationships.

Other factors can be applied to help define the problem. If available, figures on home and automobile ownership may provide clues. If the community has access to water, data on motor-boat ownership will be of interest. Again, these estimates of plane ownership must be prepared with a full knowledge and use of the individual characteristics of the area.

No fixed rules can be laid down for the forecasting of commercial flying activity. Even more than the previous estimates, these activities are influenced by local conditions. In some areas agricultural uses of flying will assume importance; in others, the demands of recreation. Or again, the aggressiveness of a local airport director or chamber of commerce may induce a manufacturer or feeder line operator to establish a base at the airport, radically altering the program for airport usage and development.

The engineer preparing the survey must explore the local scene with all thoroughness and exercise mature judgment if his evaluation of this type of flying activity is to be sound. A large share of the income of an airport may develop from a fixed base operator; he can become a serious factor in making the airport a successful enterprise.

Many surveys have as one objective establishment of an airport site. Others are confronted with endorsing the location of an existing airport which is to be expanded or determining which of two airports is to be expanded. To solve the problem two devices have been used with success. One is plotting the centers of gravity of a number of indices which apply to the type of airport for which a location is required. Thus, if the airport is to be primarily commercial, indices used should include consumer income, value of products, manufacturing employment. If the centers of gravity of the various indices fall within a restricted area, the optimum direction of development will be indicated.

A second method is to plot the per cent advantage of various industrial and economic factors of half of a community as against the opposite half. If all or most of the advantage lies within one half, its economic superiority will have been demonstrated. It hardly appears necessary to point out the importance of locating an airport near its estimated source of income.

Airports have been classified primarily according to their runway lengths. These, in turn, are determined by the type of aircraft which it is anticipated will use them. And the type of aircraft serving or operating in a community can be forecast by the economic survey discussed before. Thus, one result of the survey is a clearer definition of what should be provided in the way of an airfield, engineering-wise, than could otherwise be obtained.

The needs of the smaller community will usually be met by a single airport strategically located. The larger metropolitan district will require a constellation of airports of all sizes, each one catering to a relatively limited range of aeronautical interests. The techniques previously discussed can readily be adapted for analyzing the airport requirements of a community of any size or economic complexity.

Engineering Problems Aided

In addition to providing data which will assist in the determination of airport types and locations the economic survey will serve to crystallize numerous engineering problems. As an example, the commercial air terminal has a need for numerous "airplane parking positions"—the paved apron required to accommodate the airplane plus a building structure for passenger handling and airline operation.

The cost of one "position" can range from $50,000 to more than a quarter million dollars. Obviously great care must be exercised to keep the number of positions at a minimum consistent with sound operating practice. The accurate determination of this number is compounded from traffic forecasts, a study of the relationship of the community to the airline route structures of the region, forecast of airline airplane sizes, number of airlines serving the terminal, etc.

One important by-product of an economic aeronautical survey is the volume of statistics and material made available, which can and should be used to produce a better

understanding on the part of the public as to what the local airport problem is. The importance of keeping the electorate well informed in municipal affairs is being realized with increasing force. At some stage in airport development the public will be asked to vote on a bond issue, or on the establishment of an airport authority, or some other phase of activity. The public which has been presented with facts will make the right decision.

An airplane is independent of local or state boundaries while in transit. The air passenger, likewise, is disinterested in what political subdivision his arrival occurs as long as the airport is located conveniently to the city of his destination. It is encouraging to note, therefore, the creation of airport authorities which have power to build and operate an airport serving jointly several cities in one or more states.

An outstanding example is the Metropolitan Airports Commission serving Minneapolis, St. Paul and the surrounding area. Spreading the cost of construction and maintenance over a wider base is not the only benefit from such an arrangement. By serving a large population air carriers are able to offer more frequent service than if each community were separately served. Thus, the economic survey should be conducted with a wide angle lens, and economies which can result from joint operation should be fearlessly explored.

In some cases an economic survey will disclose that no airport will be required for another decade, perhaps. While this may appear to be a negative result, it will have positive benefits. It will still the forces which call for "progressive action" irrespective of need and it will save the community unnecessary public expenditures.

Even if these are the results, however, the community may do well to option or purchase land for an airport so that the site will be available when required.

Forecasts Difficult

The forecasting of anything aeronautical is difficult and hazardous. The industry is still so new that records of past performance are, in many cases, scanty or meaningless. The rate of growth has been spectacular in the last decade; airlines are constantly opening new routes and terminals; new uses for aircraft are being developed at a rapid pace. The machine itself is undergoing constant and rapid development, and it is the basic characteristics of the aircraft which, in the final analysis, determine traffic volumes and airport configuration.

Thus, preparation of an economic aeronautical survey must be approached with all armament available in the way of experience, knowledge and judgment. And it must be approached, finally, with the understanding that no standard set of formulae can be applied if valid answers are sought. Each survey is a new problem requiring original thinking.

News in Review

Manager Plan Advocate Sweeps San Antonio

Des Moines, Other Cities Vote to Join Growing List

BY THE overwhelming vote of 41,734 to 11,211, **San Antonio, Texas,** elected as mayor a council-manager advocate, A. C. (Jack) White. Mr. White resigned the presidency of the chamber of commerce to accept the challenge of Mayor Alfred Callaghan to run as his opponent with the manager plan as the campaign issue. Petitions for a charter election had been contemplated prior to the election, to force action by the administration.

Des Moines, Iowa, (population 159,819) voted 20,686 to 19,876 to change from the commission plan to the council-manager plan, effective in April 1950 (see also page 269, this issue).

Cameron, Missouri, (3,615 population) voted 523 to 188 to adopt the council-manager plan, at a special election on April 4. The election was called as the result of a petition containing 532 names.

On May 2, voters of **Napa, California,** (7,740) adopted charter amendments providing the council-manager plan of government. The vote was 1,042 to 769.

An ordinance providing a city manager for **South San Francisco, California,** (6,629) was passed by the city's council on May 2.

Sunnyvale, California, (4,373) approved a council-manager charter 398 to 276 at an election held May 10.

Dunn, North Carolina, (5,256) adopted the council-manager plan on May 3 by a vote of 255 to 44. It will become effective this year.

Jackman, Maine, (1,200) has adopted the manager plan by a vote of 132 to 82, to become effective immediately.

The city council of **Monrovia, California,** (12,807) adopted a manager ordinance on April 18, four to one, to become effective in 30 days (see May REVIEW, page 236). An amendment to the ordinance, however, restricts the power of the manager to hire or discharge employees except with council approval. The one dissenter opposed the ordinance because of this amendment; he was in favor of a city manager without such restriction.

The town of **Ludlow, Vermont,** voted at the April 12 town meeting to abandon the manager plan. The village of **Ludlow** did likewise on the same day.

A bill passed by the **New Hampshire** House of Representatives to permit a city to hold a special election on the question of abandonment of the manager plan on petition of 3 per cent of the voters was amended in the Senate to apply only to **Keene** and to require 10 per cent on the petition. The House voted 178-138 against concurring with the Senate amendments and later (April 14) declined to reconsider the vote. Thus the bill is dead. A group of Keene citizens has formed an organization to defend the manager plan and strengthen the charter.

The Central Labor Union in **Concord, New Hampshire,** has gone on record in opposition to both the strong mayor and council-manager plans, and to other change in Concord's charter. Both plans have been urged as improvements on the present cumbersome government.

A proposal to eliminate from **Massachusetts'** optional Plan E charter (council-manager and P. R.) the safeguar

that no elective official can be appointed a city manager until two years after his term has expired, was killed on May 5 in the Senate by a voice vote without dissent. Previously the House had adopted the amendment 103 to 92. Another Plan E amendment, which the Senate defeated on voice vote, would have established salaries for city managers and city councils.

The Committee for Plan E of **Chelsea, Massachusetts,** has secured over 3,000 signatures to a petition seeking a November vote on the council-manager plan and P. R. They will be filed with ceremonies in the office of the city clerk.

On May 4 petitions for an election on council-manager Plan D in **North Adams, Massachusetts,** were certified by the board of registrars as containing 1,475 valid signatures; 1,150 were required. The city council at its June meeting is expected to arrange for placing the question on the ballot at the November election.

The **Rhode Island** legislature adjourned May 7 without enacting any home rule or manager legislation. A council-manager charter for the town of **Jamestown** was killed by the Senate unanimously although passed by the House of Representatives and twice approved by the town council and town meeting. Bills introduced by Representative Harvey of Newport, providing an optional charter bill for cities including the manager plan and for a commission to study home rule, were killed in committee.

The Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee in **New Britain, Connecticut,** is drafting a council-manager charter with the assistance of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed of Wethersfield, Connecticut. The city has granted the committee a $5,000 appropriation.

In **Norwich, Connecticut,** the chamber of commerce has voted in favor of a bill providing for consolidation of the city and town of Norwich; later the city council adopted a resolution disapproving the bill, with one dissenting vote. The resolution alleged that the bill would "disenfranchise the fundamental rights of popular vote for the governmental leadership and responsibility."

The **Watervliet, New York,** city council on April 21 adopted an ordinance creating the position of deputy general city manager, and appointed the city chemist to the office, which carries no additional salary.

In announcing his unavailability as a candidate for mayor of **Binghamton, New York,** in response to urging by the Democratic minority leader, former chamber of commerce president Paul F. Titchener advocated a return to the council-manager plan, which had been in effect from 1932 to 1937.

A petition containing 4,050 signatures, asking for a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan for **Passaic, New Jersey,** was filed on May 2 by the Association for a Better Community, Inc., organized by six young Passaic mothers. Passaic is now governed by a five-man commission.

The bill to permit third-class cities in **Pennsylvania** to adopt the council-manager plan by local referendum died in the Senate elections committee when the legislature adjourned. It had first been defeated but later was passed in the House. A Senate bill to permit a third-class city, under the present code, to hire a manager and fix his duties, also died in committee.

According to information from the **North Carolina** League of Municipalities, the town of **Cherryville** has secured legislation permitting the town council to call an election on the council-manager plan at its discretion; the town of **Ahoskie** is having an election on the plan this spring but the entire

town council has expressed opposition to it; the city of **Greenville** had legislation introduced for holding an election for city manager government but then had it killed before passage; the town of **Jacksonville** is interested in the council-manager form but has taken no definite steps for an election; **Roanoke Rapids** conducted an election on the manager form but it was defeated almost three to one; the towns of **Concord, Dunn, Mooresville, Newton, Oxford** and **Sanford** secured legislation providing for council-manager elections.

The vote in favor of the manager plan in **Dillon, South Carolina,** reported last month, was an advisory vote taken at the Democratic primary for mayor and aldermen as a guide to action by the new city council.

On May 10 **Spartanburg, South Carolina,** voters rolled up a seven-to-one vote—3,222 to 463—to retain the manager plan adopted in 1945.

All members of the Charter Revision Commission of **Holland, Michigan,** have gone on record as favoring the council-manager plan of government. The commission has also voted to recommend that the city council be limited to nine members including the mayor, two councilmen-at-large, and one from each of six wards.

A council-manager proposal was defeated in the village of **Franklin Park, Illinois,** on April 19, by about two to one. According to reports, the political machine of the township in which the village lies threw its forces into the effort to defeat the plan.

One of three optional forms of government provided for villages by the 1949 **Minnesota** legislature in its new village code is the council-manager plan.

Ashland, Wisconsin, which adopted the manager plan a year ago, retained it at the polls on May 3 by a vote of 2,100 to 944.

Voters of **Grenada, Mississippi,** rejected a proposed council-manager amendment to the city's charter 382 to 374, a margin of eight.

Rapid City, South Dakota, voted on April 25 to retain the manager plan, 1,895 to 1,064 (unofficial). The issue is thereby decided for at least two years. The vote was on a petition to substitute an aldermanic form, with two aldermen from each ward and no city manager.

McCook, Nebraska, will vote on the council-manager plan on June 7. The Beatrice *Daily Sun* reports that in **Beatrice** and **Nebraska City,** the only cities in the state that have the commission plan, the manager form is being considered.

Wellington, Kansas, voters rejected a council-manager proposal on April 5 by a vote of 1,355 to 739. The total vote was the heaviest in the city's history.

A council-manager proposal was defeated in **Stuttgart, Arkansas,** by 252 to 140 on April 19.

A bill to provide an optional council-manager charter available to all **Oklahoma** cities has been passed by the legislature and signed by the governor.

The city commission of **Port Arthur, Texas,** voted four to three on April 27 against holding a "straw vote" on the council-manager and strong-mayor forms of government. Port Arthur now has the manager plan; the office of manager is being administered temporarily by the city clerk since the manager's resignation in March 1948. A charter commission is working on a charter designed to improve the present manager setup.

The metropolitan development conference of **Ogden, Utah,** which is made up of representatives from various clubs and other organizations, on April

14 authorized a panel to make a special study of the council-manager plan. Ogden now has the commission plan.

In **Springfield, Oregon,** which adopted the council-manager plan in 1947, a proposed charter amendment for reversion to the mayor-council form is expected to be voted on at an election June 24.

Staunton, Virginia, on April 22 celebrated the 41st anniversary of the pioneering employment of a "general manager" by its then bicameral council—thus being the precursor of the simplified council-manager plan. The celebration was a part of the semi-annual meeting of the Virginia section of the International City Managers' Association, attended by some 50 city managers.

Grand Rapids Seeks Recall of Mayor

Citizens of Grand Rapids, Michigan, circulated petitions late in May for the recall of Mayor George W. Welsh because of his alleged interference with appointments by the city manager. Mayor Welsh, it is reported, attempted to dictate the appointment of city assessor and, when the manager refused his suggestion and named an experienced assessor from elsewhere, led in the manager's dismissal.

Planning Group Recommends Local Consolidation

A preliminary report of the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission of Virginia recommended on April 21 the formation of a consolidated city, under the council-manager plan, to include the cities of Newport News, Hampton and Phoebus and the counties of Elizabeth City and Warwick. Each of the five components would constitute a "borough" and have one representative on a nine-member council, the other four members to be representatives at large. A final report is expected soon.

Cities Increase Size by Annexation

A survey made by the International City Managers' Association for its 1949 *Municipal Year Book* finds that more than 145 square miles of fringe area have been added to 289 cities of over 5,000 population during the past year. Action of some cities to discontinue out-of-city service has spurred many of the annexations.

Roanoke, Virginia, added the greatest amount of territory, 11.83 square miles. Albuquerque, New Mexico, added 7.38 square miles and El Paso, Texas, 7.26. Nineteen cities increased their areas more than 25 per cent. Among cities over 100,000 El Paso made a 42 per cent gain in area, Oklahoma City, a 9.5 per cent gain, and Milwaukee 7 per cent.

In most instances cities supported annexations so as to control future development of their areas through zoning and building regulations and planning techniques. Chief reason for fringe area opposition was fear of increased taxes. Territory outside the city limits of Burley, Idaho, however, favored absorption into the city mainly to lower its taxes and fire insurance rates. The fringe area of Eugene, Oregon, desired annexation after it discovered that the total tax rate paid to special districts was greater than the city tax rate.

The usual process for annexation of unincorporated territory in most cities involves some combination of (1) majority vote in the area or petition by a certain percentage of fringe residents or property owners, followed by (2) passage of a city ordinance or majority approval by city voters.

Merger of Tarrytowns Receives Setback

A bill to permit merger of the villages of Tarrytown and North Tarrytown, Westchester County, New York, (see the REVIEW, May 1947, page 274; February 1947, page 93) was vetoed April 28 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey on the grounds that it was unconstitutional in various particulars. Proponents of the merger said they would seek to remedy the defects of the measure in time for the next legislative session.

New Orleans Fights Forced Government Change

A new state law that would change the form of government in New Orleans, Louisiana, without local consent is to be tested in the courts by that city's commission council. The city attorney's office has given the opinion that the law is unconstitutional. New Orleans is now governed by a five-member commission elected at large, which plan was ratified by popular vote in 1912. The new statute would create a board of eight aldermen elected by districts. Mayor de-Lesseps S. Morrison has denounced the statute as undemocratic in making no provision for a local referendum.

Smoke Control Bureau in New York City

Responsibility for smoke and soot control in New York City, formerly scattered among various subdivisions of the city government, is now centered in a bureau of smoke control in the department of housing and buildings by virtue of a bill recently adopted. A smoke control commission will draw up a code of rules to combat the smoke nuisance and the bureau is empowered to enforce the code. The bill was drafted and promoted by the committee on smoke abatement of the Citizens Union of the City of New York, in collaboration with Joseph T. Sharkey, majority leader of the city council, and his legislative assistant.

Cities Win Traffic Enforcement Awards

Awards for outstanding performance in the field of traffic law enforcement in 1948 were made by the International Association of Chiefs of Police in May. First place awards were given in each of six city population groups and in each of four divisions of states.

State winners were: Eastern Division—Connecticut and Pennsylvania (tied); Southern Division—Oklahoma and Texas (tied); Midwestern Division—Minnesota; Western Division—Colorado; City winners: Group I (500,000 and over)—Washington, D. C.; Group II (200,000-500,000)—Portland, Oregon; Group III (100,000-200,000) Grand Rapids, Michigan; Group IV (50,000-100,000)—Pasadena, California; Group V (25,000-50,000)—Plainfield, New Jersey; Group VI (10,000-25,000)—Longview, Washington.

These awards were given this year for the first time. The IACP cooperated with the National Safety Council, sponsors of the National Traffic Safety Contest, in making them.

Enforcement sections of the National Traffic Safety Contest reports were used in the judging for the awards. These reports are part of the National Inventory of Traffic Safety Activities.

No Illinois Constitutional Convention

The Illinois House of Representatives on May 3 defeated the proposal to submit to popular vote the calling of a convention to revise the state constitution. The vote was 89 in favor and 54 against, but a two-thirds vote of 102 was required to carry. A

previous effort, on April 13, had indicated 96 in favor, including eleven Cook County Republicans and nine "downstate" Republicans.

Governor Adlai Stevenson, a strong advocate of the convention idea, announced that despite his preference for comprehensive revision he would urge the Democratic party to join the Republicans in securing ratification of the so-called gateway amendment in 1950—which would facilitate piecemeal revision at least.

Revision of Kansas Constitution Discussed

At the eighth session of the Kansas Conference on Government, held in Topeka in April, there was a panel discussion on "Basic Needs for Revision of the Kansas Constitution." Dr. Hugo Wall, vice chairman of the conference and head of the political science department of the University of Wichita, outlined possible basic changes in the Kansas constitution and listed the following categories: (1) reorganization of the executive branch, which contemplates a short ballot; (2) changes in the judicial article to include different methods of selecting judges; (3) legislative apportionment; (4) home rule for cities and other units of local government; (5) initiative and referendum.

Colorado Approves Code Adoption by Reference

Legislation permitting adoption of building codes and certain other documents by reference, without the expense of publishing them in full in a local newspaper, was adopted by Colorado's 37th General Assembly. It was the product of cooperative work by the Colorado Municipal League and the Colorado Press Association.

The types of documents that may be adopted by reference include building codes, promulgated by either a governmental or a non-governmental agency; statutes, ordinances, rules, regulations or standards promulgated by the federal government, the state of Colorado or any agency of either. The law also facilitates codification of existing municipal ordinances.

Copies of the published code must be kept on file for public examination and copies must be offered for sale by the city clerk. A public hearing is required before adoption.

Another important piece of Colorado legislation is a law authorizing cooperation between local units of government through contracts, thus permitting existing functions to be done more effectively and often at lower costs than previously. It allows employees of one political unit to retain rights such as workmen's compensation insurance while performing services for another unit.

Merit System Restoration Sought in Louisiana

The Louisiana Civil Service League is working for the restoration of the merit system in the state service, where it was scuttled by the legislature last July by repeal of the state civil service law. The league has sent out a statewide call for citizen support of a movement for a self-operative constitutional amendment embodying the main features of the original civil service law, with certain improvements.

North Carolina Sets Up Personnel Department

The legislature of North Carolina has established a state personnel department, to be headed by a personnel director advised and assisted by a seven-member council and employee representatives from each of the state departments, agencies and commissions, according to the Civil Service

Assembly of the United States and Canada.

The various departments will continue to select and appoint personnel but subject to the approval of the personnel director, who is also to set up qualifications, standards, salary schedules and a job classification plan. The new law will not affect the operation of the Merit System Council.

States Set Up "Hoover Commissions"

Committees to study state governmental functions, patterned after the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government headed by Herbert Hoover, have been set up in several states. At least seven states have formally established such commissions or have directed their legislative interim committees to make such studies, according to the Council of State Governments.

State surveys now under way have the same broad objectives as the so-called Hoover commission, including elimination of duplicating functions and overlapping operations and establishment of organizational responsibility as a means of increasing the efficiency of governmental operations.

New Hampshire's survey calls for scrutiny of the organization of the state government by a seven-man group, to report by June 1949. Unlike its prototype, the committee's recommendations become effective if either house of the legislature approves them.

A special legislative committee on state operations was set up in Arizona for a thorough investigation of the affairs and operations of state departments and institutions. Objectives include consolidation, curtailment of operations or elimination of departments to increase efficiency and economy.

Wisconsin's Legislative Council recently voted a two-year investigation of administrative departments, to be carried on in cooperation with the state division of departmental research.

Idaho's legislative interim committee received a $25,000 grant to finance a two-year study of how to simplify the state government.

A nine-member commission has been established in Iowa to investigate all branches and agencies of state government and to recommend a program for their consolidation and coordination. It is comprised of three state senators appointed by the lieutenant-governor, three representatives appointed by the speaker of the House and three persons named by the governor, and will report to the 1951 legislature.

In North Dakota the Legislative Research Committee has been directed to make a general study of governmental reorganization. This committee, reestablished at the end of the 1949 legislative session, was given a variety of research problems.

Connecticut has authorized a committee for the purpose of streamlining and modernizing the state government (see the REVIEW, May, page 241).

A reorganized state administrative structure was effected in Michigan last August. A new department of administration was established and all housekeeping functions of the state, other than personnel, were merged in the new department (see the REVIEW, July 1948, page 357).

On May 9 a resolve was filed with the Massachusetts legislature to set up a bipartisan commission to make recommendations for the streamlining of state services and the reduction of expenditures to an amount consistent with efficient performance.

(Continued on page 299)

County and Township . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Charleston County Manager Charter Upheld

Declared Constitutional by South Carolina Supreme Court

THE South Carolina Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of the statute under which the newly-elected Charleston County council is exercising powers formerly held by the state legislature. The court found that the general assembly acted in an unconstitutional manner in only one particular. It could not delegate police powers to one specific county.

The council-manager form of government provided by the act under attack was approved by the voters of Charleston County in September 1948[1] and became effective this year. The council is vested with authority to make appropriations, levy taxes and otherwise conduct the affairs of the county.

The court, in concluding its ruling, said: "The system of county government which we have upheld is apparently without precedent in this state. The general assembly has thought highly enough of the plan to make it possible for the people of Charleston County to try the experiment, and the people of that county, having peculiar knowledge of local needs and problems, have, by a majority vote, signified their desire to put it to a test."

County Manager Plan Recommended

The county manager plan has been recommended to the board of supervisors of Tulare County, California, by a planning consultant retained by the board to advise it on county needs. The report states that the county government needs "complete revamping" through adoption of a home rule charter. It was proposed that the county heads of departments, now elective, be made appointive and responsible to a single manager. The five-member board should be restricted to policy matters and all administrative officers should be responsible to the manager only.

Dallas County Seeks Home Rule Charter

In Texas the Dallas County Citizens Association, organized last year to promote and secure a home rule charter for the county, has sponsored a bill in the legislature which would allow the county to adopt a charter by a simple over-all majority vote. Present constitutional provisions require that the vote in the incorporated areas and the unincorporated areas be counted separately and approval secured in each.

King and St. Louis County Commissions Begin Work

The unofficial advisory charter commission appointed to draft a tentative charter for King County, Washington, is composed of 35 members elected by the county commissioners from a large list of recommendations of the Seattle Municipal League, League of Women Voters, community clubs, labor and other organizations. Since the commission is unofficial—it will present its findings to a freeholders board to be elected next year—the prosecuting attorney has ruled that the county may make no appropriations for its work.

[1] See the REVIEW, October 1948, page 513.

The Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington has therefore assumed responsibility for office space and clerical assistance. Donald C. Sampson, of the bureau staff and a member of the commission, has been appointed secretary.

St. Louis County's board of freeholders, appointed May 3, scheduled three meetings during May.

Report on Birmingham Area Published

Results of a survey of government in the Birmingham, Alabama, area, made in accordance with an act of the 1945 legislature providing a legislative committee to study local government in Jefferson County, have been published by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama.[1]

In 1948 the people of the state voted on two constitutional amendments necessary to the execution of the survey recommendations. However, these recommendations did not secure the popular approval necessary for ratification.[2] Since the problems that led to the study therefore remain to be solved, the bureau believed that publication of the report would assist future leadership in achieving these objectives for the area.

Two alternative courses of action are presented in the recommendations. The first involves more effective and efficient management of the existing county government. This would include adding further governmental improvements to the already effective merit system and centralized purchasing in the county.

Further strengthening of the county's government is necessary through establishment of: (1) a department of finance, (2) a legal department, (3) a chief administrative officer and (4) a combined city-county planning agency and single planning staff coupled with development of community councils.

Also recommended are: (1) extension of municipal boundaries, (2) intergovernmental contractual agreements in law enforcement, licensing and operation of parks and recreation, (3) changes in personnel practices including extension of the merit system and consolidation of the four retirement systems, (4) adoption of intergovernmental joint purchasing, (5) limitation on the establishment of additional school systems in municipalities and (6) cooperative housing management among the several governmental units.

Changes of an entirely different nature from those listed above, constituting a fundamental change in local government structure, are offered as an alternative plan. These recommended changes include the alternatives: (1) a consolidated city-county government covering an area embraced by the present city boundary lines of Birmingham, (2) a consolidated city-county government covering the area of the present metropolitan district, (3) a consolidated city-county government embracing all of Jefferson County or (4) the federal plan which involves the concept of dividing governmental powers between the county and its subdivisions. The administrative structure under any of the consolidation plans provides for a manager to be administrative head of the city-county government.

The report is a most comprehensive study of the county. It is divided into 22 chapters and five appendices, with many statistical tables. The five major parts of the study include

[1] *Metropolitan County*, by Weldon Cooper, 1949, 165 pages.

[2] See the REVIEW, December 1948, page 615.

finance and financial administration, state and local activities, the public school system, the Bessemer division, and conclusions and recommendations.

Michigan Townships Surveyed

The Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan has published a thorough study of Michigan township government.[1] It is an attempt to make available, in a single reference work, a concise and comprehensive description of all township offices and boards. These agencies are described by a summary or digest of their personnel, compensation, powers, duties, administrative organization and the methods by which they are financed.

The author has pointed out that (1) townships may be organized under the general laws or (2) townships which meet certain population and geographical requirements may be organized under the charter township act of 1947.

Under the general law the township meeting, of which all electors of the township are members, has the power to: (1) raise taxes, (2) create debt, (3) issue by-laws and orders regulating township affairs, (4) provide a building for a community center, and (5) acquire and hold real and personal property for public use. The township board, however, consisting of the supervisor, treasurer, clerk and two or four justices of the peace, depending on circumstances, retains many of the other local government functions.

The annual township meeting is held on the first Monday in April. Formerly it elected township officers, but now they are elected at a biennial election in odd numbered years. In larger townships, however, the meeting is authorized to appoint a clerk to assist the township supervisor.

The township supervisor is elected for a two year term. He assesses township property, serves as an agent of the township in the transaction of its legal business and represents the township on the county board of supervisors.

A township clerk also is elected to serve for a term of two years. He keeps records of all important township transactions. The township treasurer is provided for in the constitution and is elected to serve a two year term.

The constitution provides for the election of not more than four justices of the peace and four constables in each township. They are compensated on a fee basis.

There are numerous other township officers provided by the constitution and by statute. Traffic officers may be employed singly or jointly by several townships. Many townships still elect a commissioner of highways, although the functions have been transferred to a large extent to the county. Townships are authorized to employ a public nurse.

Any township having a population of 5,000 or more or a township having a population of 2,000 or more which borders on a city with a population of at least 25,000 is authorized to incorporate as a charter township. Action for such incorporation may be initiated either by petition of the electorate or by resolution of the township board. It must be ratified by referendum. The authorization given to the township board to appoint a superintendent and delegate broad managerial powers to him has been discussed previously in this section.[2]

[1] *A Manual of Township Government in Michigan*, by Claude Tharp. Michigan Governmental Studies No. 18, Ann Arbor, 1948, 142 pages.

[2] The REVIEW, September 1947, page 470.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Prescribed for Part of German Parliament

Half of 400 Members to Be Elected by List System

A LAW providing for the election of 200 of the 400 members of the new German *Bundestag* (popularly elected house of the *Bundesrat* or Parliament) by single member districts and the other 200 by the list system of proportional representation was adopted on May 10 by the Parliamentary Council at Bonn. Under article 137 of the new constitution this law will govern the election of the first *Bundestag*.

The new federal republic is composed of the American, British and French occupation zones in Germany. The present constitution is to go out of effect when a government for all Germany is chosen by its people.

According to the *New York Times*, in the election of the *Bundestag* each voter will have two votes, one of which will be cast for a candidate in a single-member district election, the other of which will count in a proportional representation election.

List systems of P. R. were in use in the Weimar Republic from 1919 to 1933 and have been used in the American and French occupation zones since the end of World War II.

Massachusetts Cities Prepare for P. R.

In anticipation of Worcester's first P. R. election under its new Plan E charter next fall, the Women's Forum of Worcester County recently sponsored a model city-wide P. R. election for a council of nine and a school board of six (as provided by the charter). There were 3,202 votes cast, of which less than 2 per cent were invalid, although for many of the participants it was the first election of this type.

The Worcester *Telegram* of April 24, which made a full report on the mock election, reproduced the tally sheet of the school committee election in its entirety. The election was supervised by City Clerk Malcolm C. Midgley.

Students of the Medford, Massachusetts, vocational school will make cabinets, trays and compartments for use in the conduct of the P. R. count under the city's Plan E charter next November. The plan was advanced for reasons of economy as well as a measure to promote civic interest.

Massachusetts House Reaffirms P. R.

The defeat of the Senate-approved measure to repeal the provision for P. R. under Massachusetts' Plan E optional charter, reported in this department last month, was confirmed by a reconsideration vote in the House of Representatives on April 20. The vote was 114 to 100.

The Worcester *Gazette*, in its editorial of April 21, "There's a Bright Side to This Controversy," commented:

"The pressure is off at last and Worcester has retained proportional representation voting. There should have been no doubt about it from the beginning. The only distressing result of the whole controversy is that 100 members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives should have voted to repeal P. R.

"Though the bill as finally rejected

did exempt Worcester and other Plan E cities, it provided for an automatic referendum to determine whether the people wanted to continue P. R. That's the thing that rankles—that and the would-be final pronouncement that no other city in the state should ever again adopt P. R. Actually, as has been pointed out time and again, if Worcester or any other city wants a city manager government without P. R. it need only select Plan D. Proceedings to get a Plan D petition on the ballot can be initiated tomorrow, if there is enough opposition to P. R. to get the requisite signatures. We don't need the state legislature to tell us what we want and what we don't want.

"Come to think of it, though, this vote is encouraging in a backward sort of way. No progress is ever easy, and the fact that 100 politicians should oppose P. R.—with typically red herring cries of 'communism' and 'foreign systems'—seems to confirm the fact that we must indeed be making progress. If our new government met no opposition we'd be suspicious. As it is, P. R. is looking better all the time."

Toledo P. R. Referendum Set for November

In response to petitions filed in April, the city council of Toledo has set a referendum for the fall election on a proposal to repeal P. R. for the election of the council. The petition would substitute a nonpartisan primary followed by a nonpartisan election, both conducted at large. Members of the council also agreed not to advance any other election plan of their own.

Some doubt as to the constitutionality of the proposal has been voiced by the Toledo Municipal League.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 294)

Four States Join Northeast Forest Compact

The legislatures of Maine, New Hampshire, New York and Vermont have ratified the Northeastern Forest Fire Protection Compact, according to *State Government*. Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island are also eligible for membership.

International Governmental Training Center Planned

Formation of an international training center in public administration is in prospect next year as a result of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It directs the secretary general to present a program for training in the principles, procedures and methods of modern administration for persons of proven ability, who would be recruited on a wide geographical basis with emphasis on "those countries in greatest need of access to the techniques of modern administration," according to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

It has been proposed that the center may consist of an international administrative staff college for outstanding senior civil servants which would offer intensive training lasting from three to five months. Provision may also be made for fellowships under which promising younger civil servants could study public administration in various outstanding existing institutions, and combine such study with an internship in an appropriate national or international agency.

The center may also provide technical aid to governments wishing to establish or improve national institutions for training in public administration.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Revenue Needs Spotlight Tax Exemption

Federal in Lieu Payments Sought Through Congress

INCREASES in municipal expenditures resulting from postwar inflation, and the pressure on local officials to find additional revenues to finance higher budgets, have served to emphasize the potential income which might be realized at the local level by a curtailment of property tax exemption. Interest extends both to property which is exempt from ad valorem taxes because it is government-owned and to property privately owned but exempt because of its use.

The federal government, by far the largest owner of property exempt from taxation, has in recent years been increasingly receptive to pleas that its immunity from property taxes works a hardship on local government, especially when federal installations are themselves the cause of expansion in services and facilities.

During the war a rather comprehensive system of so-called in lieu payments was developed, partly in connection with emergency housing developments and later in connection with war plants and other large installations. The Lanham Act provided a broad basis for federal subsidies to local units where war expansion had occurred, but from the local point of view both these payments and the payments in lieu of taxes had a common defect—they were determined mainly by negotiation rather than by placing federal property on the same footing as privately owned property subject to ad valorem taxation.

Several bills are pending before the present Congress which if enacted would authorize federal payments in lieu of property taxes on a more extended scale. A stumbling block with Congress, however, seems to be that no one really knows just how much the cities and other local units lose in taxes because of the government's exemption. A figure of $250,000,000 has frequently been mentioned but it is questioned in some congressional quarters, and a proposal has been made to have the Federal Works Agency survey the situation.

The American Municipal Association, in its *Washington News Letter* of April 29, suggests a simpler procedure: to permit the local units to compute their tax claims on the basis of their own assessment procedures and tax rates, and then pay such claims pro rata from an initial appropriation. Since local officials could be expected to submit the data with alacrity, comprehensive factual material for further study would be received and could form the basis for later appropriations.

Another proposal is that payments in lieu of taxes be made generally first to school districts, which in many sections are most spectacularly affected by federal installations which have caused large population increases in formerly small communities with limited resources. In some instances the states themselves have authorized a form of tax exemption which has operated to reduce greatly the productivity of the property tax. For a decade or more, some thirteen states have either exempted so-called homestead property from taxation or granted homesteaders a preference in computing their tax bills.

A summary of the situation by the National Association of Assessing Officials states that ten states exempt homesteads up to a certain value, that two—Iowa and West Virginia—grant preferences, and Minnesota has both an exemption and a preference law.

Exemption and preference laws vary widely. In Wyoming, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Iowa, West Virginia and Florida, the laws are applicable to all state and local levies while in Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana they apply to state taxes and to some local levies. South Dakota, Texas, Arkansas and Alabama give exemption and preferential taxation to state levies only.

Homesteads constitute 27 per cent of Florida's total property value. Value limitation on an exemption in Florida is $5,000. In Georgia, where value limitations are $2,000, homesteads make up 21 per cent of the total taxable property value in the state.

In Louisiana with a $2,000 exemption limit and in Mississippi with a $5,000 limit, homesteads comprise 19.6 and 19.5 per cent respectively of the states' total property value.

Eight of the states — Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Iowa and Texas —limit the area of land occupied by the homestead. Area limitations range from 40 acres in Iowa to 200 acres in Texas.

Iowa's preference law allows homesteaders a special credit which is deducted from the total tax bill. Minnesota homesteads are assessed at a lower percentage of full value than non-homestead property.

The West Virginia preference law is part of a comprehensive tax rate limitation scheme. The maximum tax rate on homesteads is lower than the maximum permitted on other property. The state sets no limitation on the value of property that may be claimed as a homestead. Its more than $470,000,000 of homesteads is 16.1 per cent of the state's total property value.

Iowa's homesteads make up 17.8 per cent of the total property value in the state; Alabama's 17.7 per cent; Oklahoma, 14.8 and Texas 13.5. Wyoming, where value limitations on homesteads are $500, has only 2.8 per cent of its property value in homesteads.

South Dakota, which gives $5,000 exemption to homesteads, has collected no state property taxes since 1938 while Arkansas, which gives a $2,000 homestead exemption, has levied no state property tax since 1947.

Kentucky Gets a New Assessment Policy

The special session of the Kentucky General Assembly, which adjourned in March, enacted legislation having more than local interest. Four bills concerned property tax assessment, carrying out a three-plank platform advocated by the administration.

First element in the program is a greatly modified tax calendar so that a calendar extending over twelve months replaces one covering twenty months. Most property will now be assessed as of January 1 and the tax will be payable by December 31. The bill makes numerous changes incidental to the main purpose: It eliminates contradictory statutes, rationalizes assessment and collection with levy requirements, dispenses with superfluous procedures, requires the recording of exempt property, and contributes substantially toward making it convenient for cities to use state-county assessments rather than those made by overlapping city assessment districts.

The second objective is to tighten administration at numerous points,

partly in areas concerned solely with local action and partly in those relating to state supervision.

Perhaps the most significant changes are the provisions for better tax assessor compensation and for more exacting assessor and deputy assessor qualifications. As to assessor qualifications the major changes are to invalidate examination certificates for 1920 to 1949, except that present incumbents are "covered in" so far as qualification is concerned, and to make examinations other than written ones legal. The legislation attempts to enforce a requirement that the assessor work full time.

The third element provides the financing involved in implementing the authority of the Department of Revenue to assist local assessing officials. One suggestion as to the new aid setup would provide for a new technical services unit in the Division of Property Taxation whose head would supervise a field staff of about ten regional assessment consultants and a technical valuation staff.

Each of the experts would work on the development of standards and would assist the field staff to help individual assessors with technical problems. The exact complexion of the management may take a considerably different form, but the plan under consideration is suggestive of purposes and over-all policies.

It has become increasingly apparent in Kentucky that the method of distributing state school funds among the various districts has contributed to assessment shortcomings. Specifically, local governments have reduced the assessment level in order to secure additional educational support from the state. The General Assembly has undertaken to alter the state's schoo aid program to defeat this practice.

In one of the school equalizatio measures adopted, the legislature pro vides for a reduction in aid each yea the average assessment ratio multi plied by the nominal tax rate in a school district fails to equal a speci fied rate of levy. The minimum rat of levy required for full participatio in state school aid, although it be comes gradually higher over a perio of seven years, never reaches a poin approaching the legal maximum pos sible in a district having full-value assessments.

To avoid disruption of the schoo support program, the new legislatio provides for a gradual reduction in th amount distributed to districts whic fail to meet local tax effort require ments—95 per cent of the maximum available the first year, 90 per cen the second, 80 per cent the third, an less and less in each succeeding yea until, in 1955 and after, no aid woul be distributed unless the rate of levy were brought up to the statutor minimum.

There was some opposition to th assessment bills on the ground tha they would operate to increase taxe whereas there seemed to be no suc complaint from any source about th school aid legislation which expressl required higher taxes in a majorit of the school districts. There wa nothing in the tax assessment mea ures to prevent local reduction o rates whenever there should be an in crease in assessments. On the contrar there was a declaration of policy to th effect that tax-levying authoritie should reduce rates to compensate fo higher valuations.

JAMES W. MARTIN, *Directo*
Bureau of Business Research,
University of Kentucky

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Civic Conference Plan in Action

Leonia, New Jersey, Gets Government by the People

HOW can leading citizens in our home towns be induced to accept their civic responsibilities? Must all candidates for local office be selected by "leaders" before the people themselves are permitted to vote for them? Is there no practical way for the people to take charge of their local government? Is it necessary that capable and prominent citizens be deterred from accepting office because of the expense, recriminations and unpleasantness incident to partisan political campaigns?

Leonia, New Jersey, a community of some 7,500 just across the Hudson River from uptown New York, has found the answer to these questions by employing a method known as the civic conference plan.

The plan came into being as a result of two things: first, observation by the writers that, in spite of New Jersey primary laws, candidates for local offices were being selected by small groups of from two to ten politically active persons in each party without primary contests; second, the premise that the principles and issues which divide the citizens of the United States into two great parties are national and international in scope and have no applicability to local municipal affairs.

The plan as finally adopted after several months of struggle and a close vote in the Republican Association was patterned after a similar plan in effect in Glen Ridge, New Jersey, for many years.

Under this unusual plan outstanding Democrats are elected to office in a predominantly Republican town with the blessing of the Republicans. No man seeks an office—the office seeks the man best suited for the requirements. Every man in elective office in town has been sought out and asked to make his contribution to sound local government by his neighbors.

Organized in 1939, the **Leonia Civic Conference** has suffered but one defeat of a candidate and that in a school board election where some unusual circumstances entered the picture.

The membership of the conference is composed of 24 delegates and 24 alternates, four each from the Republican Association and the Democratic Club, and the same number from each organization in town which has been in existence one year and has over 500 members, whose membership is open to citizens generally in all parts of the borough, and which desires to participate. At the present time, the Women's Club, Men's Neighborhood Club, Home and School Association, and the local post of the American Legion each send representatives. The Players Guild, which sponsors amateur theatricals, is the only qualified organization which does not participate.

In 1944 some who objected to the conference pointed out that, unless a citizen belonged to one of the member organizations, he had no voice in the selection of candidates. To remedy this provision was made by constitutional amendment for the selection of not

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EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is reprinted from *The American City* for March 1949. Anyone interested in further information about the conference may obtain a brochure and a copy of the constitution and by-laws from its chairman, Victor E. Ferrall, 382 Summit Avenue, Leonia, New Jersey.

more than two delegates and alternates from each of the four election districts in town simply by having a petition signed by 25 qualified voters in the district presented to the conference. One delegate and one alternate enjoy membership by virtue of this provision.

In addition to these delegates, any person who has served the borough in an elective office for which the conference makes recommendations becomes, upon invitation and acceptance, a delegate for one year immediately following the end of his term of office. The objective here is to bring to the conference the benefit of his knowledge of the capabilities of his former colleagues in the event of their consideration for re-election or advancement in office.

No person holding any salaried or elective public office in the borough for which the conference makes recommendations is permitted to be a delegate or alternate. Not more than one member of any family may sit in the conference at the same time. No delegate may hold office as such for more than three consecutive years. By unwritten rule, the chairman of the conference holds office for one term of one year.

With these safeguards it is impossible for any small clique to gain control. The membership of the conference is ever-changing, and thus far some 200 citizens have served.

How Plan Works

Prior to each election the conference meets to consider candidates for the offices to be filled. Notice of the meeting is sent not only to each member but also to the head of each participating organization with the request that his group consider possible candidates so that delegates will come to the meeting with definite suggestions.

Notice of the meeting is published on the front page of the local newspaper, and a general invitation is given to all residents to send in nominations. The meeting is opened with a public hearing at which any citizen may present the name and qualifications of any person for any of the offices.

Then the conference goes into secret session so that a full discussion may be had. Here it considers the names which have been submitted, together with any others that may be presented by any member of the conference. If the persons suggested are not sufficiently well known to members, an information committee is appointed by the chair to get the facts. The meeting then adjourns to another date.

When all the information is in, and a full discussion of each proposed candidate has taken place, a secret vote is taken. The first proposed candidate to receive a majority vote of the entire conference membership becomes the candidate to be sponsored.

Qualifications of each suggested candidate are fully discussed but the principal question to be answered is, "Is he the best man available in town for the particular position?" Politics, religion, economic status and such matters are not discussed.

After the conference has acted a notification committee is appointed to wait upon the selected candidate in order to secure his consent to run. Usually this is the first intimation he receives that he has been considered. If he refuses, the conference calls another meeting and starts over again. This rarely occurs. If he accepts, the conference finances, manages and carries on his campaign for him. No conference candidate is ever asked to contribute to his own campaign nor is he ever expected to work for his own election.

Under this plan business men, bankers, engineers, professors and just plain citizens interested only in the welfare

of their home town are the officeholders in this community. Under this plan a Nobel prize winner and the head of the chemistry department of a great university served on the board of education. Under this plan Republicans and Democrats live in harmony—at least for four years—and both contribute their talents to the welfare of the community.

All elected officials except the tax collector serve without compensation and rarely for more than two terms. Men and women who would never seek office in the usual way are persuaded to accept their share of the responsibilities of local government—and the home town is much better for it.

In Leonia the people *select* as well as *elect* their local officials. They have done so for the past ten years, and there is no indication that they want to go back to the old system.

H. E. A. Forsthoff, *Mayor*
L. Stanley Ford, *Councilman*
Leonia, New Jersey

Citizens Support Hoover Executive Recommendations

President Truman has endorsed the educational program on government reorganization proposed by the new **Citizens Committee for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government.**

In a letter to Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Philadelphia's Temple University and national chairman of the new committee, Mr. Truman said:

"I shall send down a number of reorganization plans just as soon as a bill authorizing me to do so passes the Congress and of course I shall be most happy to have all the help possible in pushing these plans through."

The committee has been formed to develop public understanding of the report presented to Congress by the bipartisan Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government headed by former President Herbert Hoover.[1] With a nucleus of a thousand outstanding citizens—national leaders in agriculture, business, education, labor, women's and other groups—it is planning an extensive informational program to interpret and maintain public interest in the commission's report.

Workshop in Government to Meet in Michigan

The fourth annual **Workshop in State and Local Government in Michigan,** featuring as "faculty" outstanding governmental leaders and educators of the state, will be held at Michigan State College, July 5-22.

Intended primarily for teachers of civics, government and social studies, the workshop is aimed at promoting a more informed and active citizenry in relation to public affairs. This year, for the first time, administrative policies will be discussed by officials representing the two major parties of Michigan.

Among those taking part are: Governor G. Mennen Williams, Lieutenant Governor John W. Connolly, Secretary of State Fred M. Alger, Jr., State Treasurer D. Hale Brake, State Supreme Court Justice John R. Dethmers, and many other state and local government leaders.

Educators and laymen participating are: John Huss, director of the Michigan Municipal League: A. O. Cuthbert, president of the Michigan County Roads Association; Dr. Ernest B. Harper, head of the Department of Social Service at Michigan State University; Robert S. Ford, director of the University of Michigan Bureau of Government; and

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[1] See the Review, March 1949, page 140; May, page 262; and this issue, page 313.

Jay Sherman, head of the Wayne University Department of Government.

Fifteen major fields of study will be on the program including: the role of the governor, legislature and courts; procedures of county, township and city governments; administration of agencies charged with health, child and adult welfare; education; roads; state and local finances; responsive and responsible government; and the role of schools in promoting more intelligent and active participation in public affairs.

The workshop is sponsored by Michigan State College and the Michigan Institute of Local Government, in cooperation with more than a dozen other institutions and agencies.

Charter Ticket

The **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** urges interested citizens to offer recommendations for the 1949 charter ticket for city council. Qualifications for nominations, as reported in the committee's *Charter News Letter,* include: (1) ability, integrity and devotion to the city's advancement; (2) support of proportional representation, the merit system of civil service appointments and the principles of honesty, efficiency and non-interference with administrative authority.

* * *

New County Association

The **Bexar County Citizens Association** (San Antonio, Texas), organized this spring, has these objectives set forth in its constitution:

To promote a more active interest by the citizens of Bexar County in the affairs of local government;

To investigate the administration of local offices and the operation of local laws;

To collect and disseminate impartial and accurate information relative to local government;

To promote the businesslike, honest and efficient conduct of local government;

To encourage competent men and women to stand for public office; and to support wholesome leadership in public affairs.

* * *

With the Civic Groups

Inspired by a talk by Professor Arthur W. Bromage of the University of Michigan, a group of women in **Norway, Michigan,** interviewed the ten candidates running for city council in the spring elections, seeking their stand on various aspects of local government. With the election of the new council Norway inaugurated its council-manager government adopted at the polls last November. . . .

The *Seattle Municipal News* of April 2, published by the **Seattle Municipal League,** carried a "Know Your Local Government" quiz so that the citizenry might figure out how bright—or dull—it is so far as civic affairs are concerned. Twelve questions are listed. Correct answers to eleven or twelve rate excellent; nine or ten, good; seven or eight, fair; and six or less, "not so hot!" Answers are listed on another page. "No cheating now!" says the *News.* . . .

The **Wayne, Michigan, Junior Chamber of Commerce** held an open forum for candidates running for village council in the spring election. Voters were urged to attend in order that they might become personally acquainted with candidates. . . .

A ten-year study on the costs of county government was made by the **Anderson, Indiana, Chamber of Commerce.** . . . The **Central Atlanta Improvement Association** has issued a mimeographed report of six pages on its 1948 activities. . . .

"Why I Like the City Club" is a new feature of the *Bulletin* of the **Chicago City Club.** One-sentence comments are sought, for instance: "The City Club," says Dr. W. P. Cortelyou, head of the chemistry department of Roosevelt College and club governor, "is one place where I can have heated discussions with people of opposing opinions and still remain friends with them." . . .

The **Cleveland Citizens League** has made one issue of *Greater Cleveland* a "Directory of Public Officials," listing all 1949 principal officers for the city, county, state and federal governments. . . .

The **Independent Citizens party** and the **Democratic party of Hastings, New York,** in a coalition movement "to bring economy and efficiency into our village government," elected all their slate of local candidates but one at the spring elections. . . .

The **New Haven Citizens' Committee for a Council-Manager Charter** has undertaken an intensive educational advertising campaign to inform the public of the proposed charter's provisions. The program is in line with the committee's plan to work now for success in a referendum which it is hoped the legislature will grant to the voters. . . .

According to *Taxtalk* of the **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations,** new taxpayer associations have been organized in Dudley, Franklin and Lakeville. Numerous local groups, including those in Cohasset, Marblehead, Marshfield, Needham, Plymouth, Raynham and Sturbridge, held "pre-town meetings" to discuss articles in the town warrants for the official town meeting.

We Stand Corrected

To the Editor:

We were delighted to see the fine top billing you gave the *Citizen's Date Book* in your "New and Interesting Citizen Publications" column in the April NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW. We'd like to add, though, that the *Date Book* fits equally well in a man's vest pocket; and certainly the information is also necessary for men. Just thought you'd like to know that we are happy to—and do—sell this handy little book to men too!

ERNA STERN, *Secretary*
League of Women Voters
of New Jersey

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Strictly Personal

William H. Mortensen, former mayor of Hartford, has resigned as chairman of the Citizens Charter Committee because of ill health. "It is no exaggeration to say that no individual has done more to promote council-manager government in Hartford than former Mayor William H. Mortensen," says the Hartford *Courant,* editorially. "As mayor Mr. Mortensen appointed the original commission to devise a new charter. As a private citizen he helped organize the Charter Committee to help put over the charter. Subsequently he worked to see that the infant government had a fair chance to grow to maturity." Mr. Mortensen has been succeeded by **John Hugh Hurley,** acting mayor of Hartford.

The Connecticut Merit System Association announces that **Charles G. Morris,** its president, will become president emeritus on July 1. Mr. Morris has been associated with the organization ever since its beginnings when he became secretary of the (then) Civil Service Association in 1901.

Research Examined by Political Scientists

Panels Report on Major Needs in Varied Fields

THE Research Committee of the American Political Science Association has sponsored a series of panels of political scientists to discuss various aspects of political science research. Reports on the panels have been published by the University of North Carolina Press, *Research in Political Science* (238 pages, $3).

Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, has edited the ten reports and written an introduction and two final chapters on scope and method. Each panel was asked to "formulate a strategy of research . . . in terms of major areas rather than of desirable thesis topics, in broad outline rather than in detail."

Typical Findings

Much more research on the concept of representation is needed, according to the panel on representative government and the legislative process reported by Roland Young.

A continuing agency for research planning and promotion in public administration is advocated by the panel led by William Anderson. Other measures designed to promote closer relations between those concerned with the practical and the more theoretical aspects of administration are suggested. Professor Anderson was also chairman of the session on state and local government, which concluded that students should examine more thoroughly the influence of various organizations and institutions on state and local government and should study the behavior of people as revealed in their varied responses to manifestations of government and authority which affect them.

Harwood L. Childs presents a list of suggested research projects in political communications made up of suggestions from all members of the panel on that subject.

Technical Services Directories Issued

The results of political science research, study and experience are made more readily available to state and local officials in Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee[1] and Virginia, and of course to other officials in the rest of the country, by a series of technical services directories for each of those states. The volumes, published by the bureaus of public administration of the state universities, are the result of a cooperative project involving the Tennessee Valley Authority.[2]

The directories are organized in a similar manner. Agencies providing information and assistance are classified by fields of activity and cross referenced where necessary. Each has an index. Most of them are over 200 pages. Two of the volumes, those for North and South Carolina, are accompanied by separate volumes which discuss the use of technical assistance in general and recommend ways and means to promote and facilitate useful cooperation between officials and research agencies.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1948, page 326.
[2] See the REVIEW, February, page 105.

Studies of Local Revenue Problems in Michigan

Sixteen papers by five research assistants in public administration and two taxation fellows working as interns are included in *Papers in Public Administration,* issued by the Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan.[1] The papers are good, workmanlike jobs of considerable interest outside as well as inside the state of Michigan.

Volume I contains: "A Study of Michigan Municipal Revenues," James E. Larson; "The Use of Service Charges in Michigan Cities," William I. Johnson; "The Fifteen Mill Limitation—A Comparative Study in Municipal Finance," Paul H. Wileden; "Service Levels in the Fifteen Mill Cities," James E. Larson; "Administrative Survey of the City of Grand Rapids," Joseph A. Warren, Jr.; "Property Tax Administration in Michigan with Emphasis upon Equalization," G. Homer Skarin; "Annual Municipal Reporting in Michigan," William I. Johnson; "Legal and Constitutional Aspects of a Local Excise in Michigan," William D. Dexter; "The Fiscal Possibilities of a Personal Income Tax in Michigan," Paul H. Wileden.

Volume II has: "Tax Exemptions in the State of Michigan" and "Inheritance Taxation in Michigan," Donna M. Werback; "Some Aspects of Double Taxation Under the Michigan Intangibles Tax," "Administrative and Legal Aspects of Assessment and Equalization Under the General Property Tax," "Legal and Constitutional Aspects of a State Income Tax," "Legal Aspects of the Michigan Inheritance and Estate Taxes" and "Some Problems in Revising the Tax Article of the Michigan Constitution," William D. Dexter.

[1]Ann Arbor, 1948. 2 volumes, 127 and 185 pages respectively. $2 each.

Some Sample Findings

From the study on the fifteen-mill limitation: These cities "have attempted to offset the pinch of the fifteen-mill limitation by boosting assessed valuations far more than have the non-fifteen-mill cities." Indirect effects include "greater demands for state aid, lowered levels of municipal services, the resort to questionable practices such as in the handling of earmarked funds, weakened credit positions, lessened local responsibility and efficiency, and attempts to utilize other sources of revenue which in most cases are less desirable."

From "Property Tax Administration in Michigan with Emphasis upon Equalization": "The entire spirit of the equalization process should be changed from the present judicial method of remedying wrongs to the more positive approach based on cooperation between state and local officials in achieving better administration of the property tax."

From "Some Problems in Revising the Tax Article of the Michigan Constitution": The tax article of the Michigan constitution should be revised to eliminate details which have caused trouble and which "have been placed there largely because of the distrust felt by the electors in the legislative process as it exists in Michigan. Other changes in the constitution then, such as a provision for adequate reapportionment of the legislature so that it will really represent the people, may be needed to eliminate piecemeal amending."

Bureau Notes

The Metropolitan Chicago Research Center of Northwestern University is collecting material for a projected reference library on the Chicago area. The library, to be a special branch of the university's Deering Library, wants

any material which will make a technical or professional contribution to knowledge of the area; donations should be sent to Malcolm J. Proudfoot, acting chairman of the interdepartmental committee which is directing the research center. A major activity of the center is promotion of discussion and study of all phases of government, business and social affairs in the Chicago area.

The Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research and the Citizens Research Institute of Canada, Eric Hardy, director (of both bureaus), have issued their annual reports for the year ending on February 28.

The Governmental Research Association, Louis D. Brown, secretary, has indexed under 43 general headings 383 projects recently completed or currently engaged in by 74 member agencies. Information on specific studies within any of the general groupings is available on request.

The 1949 conference of the Governmental Research Association will be held in Bedford Springs, Pennsylvania, September 7, 8 and 9. A number of small group discussions will be a feature of the program.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administration

Mechanization in Los Angeles County. Reduced Clerical Costs Shown. By Earl R. Strathman. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* April 1949. 8 pp.

Uniform Practice and Procedure Before Administrative Agencies of the Commonwealth. (Includes summary of laws of various states with recommendations.) Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Joint State Government Commission, March 1949. 20 pp.

Assessment

The 1946 Reappraisal of Real Estate in York, Nebraska. A Case Study of Scientific Assessment for Tax Purposes. By Edward B. Schmidt. Lincoln, University of Nebraska, College of Business Administration, 1948. 59 pp. graphs, tables. 50 cents.

Budgets

1949-1950 Executive Budget of New York City. New York, Citizens Budget Commission, 1949. 15 pp. graphs.

Over-all Budget of Dallas. ("This report deals with the finances and taxes involved in the preparation of the 1948-49 budget.") Dallas, Greater Dallas Planning Council, Committee on City Finances and Taxes, *Report,* December 31, 1948. 24 pp. tables.

Report on Cash Funds. ("Each expending agency must submit a detailed budget based upon the assumption that it will receive a fixed appropriation, and that it will be required to live within that appropriation, regardless of whether or not the revenues exceed the amount allotted.") Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1948. 20 pp. tables.

A Sea of Troubles. The League Reviews Allegheny County's 1949 Budget. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *Newsletter,* April 1949. 8 pp. tables.

County Government

A Guidebook of the Chancery Clerk. (Mississippi statutory provisions relating to all duties and functions of this county official—as judicial officer, court officer, clerk of board of supervisors, recording officer and fiscal officer—are summarized and classified.) By Charles Nolan Fortenberry. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 105 pp.

Education

Connecticut's School Grant System Needs Revision. Hartford, Connecti-

cut Public Expenditure Council, *State and Local Government,* April 19, 1949. 2 pp.

Per Pupil Costs in City Schools Show Large Rises, 1934-35 to 1947-48. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer,* April 1949. 1 p. table.

Report on Redistricting. ("Some kind of reorganization which will reduce the number of school districts, and thereby increase the average enrollment and average assessed valuation of districts, is essential to the development of the kind of school system which the children of the state need and deserve.") Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, December 1948. 19 pp.

Salaries and Qualifications of Professional Public School Employees in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp. tables.

The School Budget. Hartford, Governmental Research Institute, *Taxpayers' Business,* May 1949. 2 pp.

State Aid to Education. (Explanation of the state aid formula as applied to Buffalo.) Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* April 14, 1949. 3 pp.

Yes—School Costs Are Still Rising. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* April 4, 1949. 2 pp. tables.

Home Rule

About Statutory Home Rule. Providence, Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, *Bulletin,* April 11, 1949. 2 pp.

Legislative Bodies

Legislative Bodies in Large U. S. Cities. (Number and pay of councilmen, method of election.) Philadelphia, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 5, 1949. 4 pp.

Territorial Legislature—Organization and Procedure. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 34 pp.

Planning

Baltimore: Some Economic Indicators. Comparisons with Other Cities, Relation to State of Maryland. College Park, University of Maryland, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, March 1949. 25 pp. graphs.

Public Welfare

Mentally Ill and Defectives. (A discussion of proposed changes in terminology and procedure in territorial laws affecting the mentally ill.) By Robert G. Dodge. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 21 pp.

The Mentally Ill: Their Care and Treatment in Four Selected States. (Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Wisconsin; a comparative consideration of personnel, the senile patient, treatment programs and methods of admission to mental hospitals.)[1] Jefferson City, Missouri General Assembly, Committee on Legislative Research, 1949. 29 pp.

Old Age and Blind Security Programs in California: Proposition Number 4. (Discussion of administrative changes under and financial aspects of article xxv of the California Constitution, the Old Age Security and Security for the Blind Law, which took effect on January 1 after being passed by initiative. The texts of article xxv and of a proposed initiative which would repeal that article are included.) By Elizabeth Ferina. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 33 pp. tables. $1.

Sexual Psychopaths. (Two proposed territorial bills, one providing for commitment without regard to criminality, the other setting forth procedure

[1]See the REVIEW, February 1949, page 108.

for dealing with sexual psychopaths as criminals, are discussed and compared with similar bills in eight states.) By Norman Meller. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 35 pp.

Streets and Highways

Report on Highways. (Methods of financing a highway improvement program.) Lincoln, Nebraska Legislative Council, 1948. 37 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Comparison of Property Taxes Levied in Indiana for 1948 and 1949. Indiana Property Tax Levies as Advertised and as Finally Fixed, 1948 for 1949. (Both listed by counties.) Indianapolis, Indiana Taxpayers Association, *Bulletin,* April 19, 1949. 6 pp.

Enlarging Hawaii's Net Income Tax. (A number of possible means for increasing revenues from the territory's personal income tax are explained and evaluated.) By Robert M. Kamins assisted by Roderic W. Hearn. Honolulu, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1949. 51 pp. tables.

How High Can 1949 Local Taxes Be? A Factual Study. (Probable effects in Flint of passage by the 1948 Michigan legislature of the Bates bill which prohibits any home rule city from participating in the constitutional 15-mill levy and authorizes any such city to levy up to 10 mills for municipal purposes.) Flint, Civic Research Council, April 1949. 13 pp. tables.

Local Government Finances in Maryland, 1947-1948. (Summaries of reports of the financial condition of all counties and municipalities and Baltimore City for the fiscal year ending within 1947 are presented in tabular form. Four graphs show per capita assessment, per capita tax burden, per capita gross public debt and gross public debt separately for Baltimore, other municipalities, three urban and twenty rural counties for 1936 through 1948.) Baltimore, Maryland Fiscal Research Bureau, 1949. 87 pp.

Local Revenue Problems and Trends. (Summarizes recent development of local taxes and state aid and reviews proposed solutions of the problem of rising costs vs. restricted local revenues. Appendices outline selected state actions affecting new local taxes and state aid.) By John R. McKinley. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. 59 pp. $1.25.

New Hampshire—Fiscal Red Ink. (A consideration of the problem presented by the "largest operating state deficit in our recent history.") Concord, New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* April 1949. 4 pp.

Pennsylvania's Home Rule Tax Law. (Act 481, passed in 1947, which gave to 3,591 local units in the state broad powers of taxation. "It appears that the principle of this taxing program will be sustained.") By David H. Kurtzman. New York, Governmental Research Association, *Reporter,* March-April 1949. 3 pp.

Property Taxes Go Up 21 Per Cent. Levy for 1948-49 Reaches $671,362,000. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* April 1949. 10 pp. tables.

Report on the Ten-Cent Fare. ("The transit operating revenues are being used almost exclusively for current operating expenditures. The increased fare is absorbed by these operating expenditures.") New York, Citizens Budget Commission, April 29, 1949. 4 pp.

Revised City Financial Program. (With a discussion of new revenue proposals.) Providence, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* March 1949. 3 pp.

Books in Review

Plunkitt of Tammany Hall. By William L. Riordon. Introduction by Roy V. Peel. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. lvi, 132 pp. $2.50.

Back in those puissant days of 1905, when the Tammany type politician grew rich in his trade and made no bones about it, a little book entitled *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* was published. Adapted from a series of feature story interviews, it was an amazingly frank confession by a thoroughly practical politician which told exactly how to make good in the game and stay out of prison while waxing wealthy at public expense.

Mr. Riordon used the gusty, vigorous words of George Washington Plunkitt, whom he described as "one of the great powers in Tammany Hall for a quarter of a century," which added greatly to the charm and disturbing fascination of the book. Chapter headings include "Honest Graft and Dishonest Graft," "How to Become a Statesman," "The Curse of Civil Service Reform," "Reformers Only Mornin' Glories" and "Bosses Preserve the Nation" and the text more than fulfills their promise.

This little classic of spoils politics created quite a stir in its day, some of the chapters being widely reproduced in newspapers and magazines and becoming subjects for discussion in the United States Senate and in college lectures. It has been out of print for years, with occasional copies to be found in second-hand bookstores only after diligent search.

Now, to the great potential enjoyment of those who like to kid themselves that politicians were much more villainous than they are today, it has been reissued with a charming 50-page introduction by Roy V. Peel, a master politician, in a way, in his own right. Mr. Peel spent many years in New York where he taught government and was a prominent leader in the Fusion movement which elected Fiorello LaGuardia mayor. During those years he visited over a thousand political clubs and became intimately acquainted with hundreds of politicians, great and small.

What Mr. Peel has to say provides an appropriate setting and well informed comment but he tends to encourage the prevalent belief that the breed of politician represented by Plunkitt is extinct. And he is, pretty largely, if one thinks only of the kind-hearted, humorous gentle grafter and not of the relatively well educated boss of today who still in all too many places manages to get very rich and rarely goes to prison for it.

A. W.

Treasury Department. A Report to the Congress. Washington, D. C., The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, 1949. 40 pp. 15 cents.

The Hoover Commission recognizes that the organization and methods of the Treasury Department have become archaic over the years and that the department no longer fulfills its historic role of being the central finance agency of the government.

In order to remedy this situation the commission recommends that certain nonfiscal activities of the Treasury Department should be transferred elsewhere. For example, the Bureau of Federal Supply should go to the proposed Office of General Services, the United States Coast Guard to the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of Narcotics to the Department of Justice.

The commission proposes that the

accounting work of the Treasury be strengthened and systematized by setting up a new office of Accountant General. It also suggests that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Export-Import Bank and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, now operating as independent agencies, be placed under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury.

With these transfers and additions, the commission recommends that the Treasury Department be thoroughly reorganized along functional lines in keeping with its major purpose. Aside from the usual departmental services, a consolidated Revenue Service, embodying both internal revenue and customs, is suggested. The existing Fiscal Service is to be continued and expanded to include the Mint, Engraving and Printing, and Secret Service. A Banking and International Finance Service is to be set up, including a National Monetary and Credit Council (new) and the Comptroller of the Currency. The Accountant General is to head a new Accounting Service which would integrate the general accounting activities of the Treasury. An Office of Liquidation is to be set up to wind up the financial affairs of the inactive lending agencies of the government.

A. E. Buck
Institute of Public Administration

You Are Democracy. A Handbook for Des Moines Citizens. Des Moines, League of Women Voters and Junior League, 1948. 96 pp.

Another fine local citizens' manual of government, describing in readable and illustrated fashion the local political mechanism in simple terms suitable for eighth grade school children and laymen. At the point where the text books necessarily get general and vague, such contributions fill out the picture admirably.

Comparative Local Government. By G. Montagu Harris. London, Hutchinson's University Library, 1948. 207 pp. 7/6.

A handy manual, by the president of the International Union of Local Authorities, comparing local government in all lands, office by office and function by function. The American references seem accurate and complete.

Metropolitan County. A Survey of Government in the Birmingham Area.[1] By Weldon Cooper. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. viii, 165 pp.

A comprehensive survey of all the governmental functions and problems of an area with one big city, one small one and several little communities by a high grade official commission, leading to bold proposals for city-county consolidation and a governing board of nine with a city-county manager. Constitutional amendments to make the project legally possible were, however, voted down November 2, 1948. The book with its large readable pages and orderly objective handling is a model for such studies anywhere.

The Legislative Process in Alabama. By Hallie Farmer. University, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1949. x, 353 pp.

A cool authoritative analysis of the mediocre law-making machinery of Alabama in the hands of undistinguished purposeless individuals under scant public scrutiny! The ray of light in the gloom is that a Legislative Council and a Legislative Reference Library were established in 1945. The analysis is of deadly competency, the author

[1]See also page 296, this issue.

aving watched the process at close ange for fifteen years.

Rethinking Urban Redevelopment. y Coleman Woodbury and Frederick . Gutheim. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1949. 31 pp. $1. This is the first of a series of pamhlets to be issued by the Urban Redevelopment Study. It is "a preliminary analysis and outline of problems nd potentialities," according to the reword of Herbert Emmerich, director of the Public Administration Clearg House. Says Mr. Emmerich, "We ffer it in the hope that it will proide a useful background, stimulate rther thought and action, and thus ake some little contribution to what an become a most useful part of the rogram of making our urban and etropolitan centers into efficient, leasant and worthy settings for the any varied activities of their citizens."

Federal Employees in War and Peace. election, Placement and Removal. By rances T. Cahn. Washington, D. C., he Brookings Institution, 1949. xiii, 53 pp. $3.50.

An orderly examination of the federl civil service since 1939 with its great artime growth and present conditions ith its two million workers.

Additional Books nd Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Civil Service

"According to Merit and Fitness." ivil Service Administration in the mpire State. Albany, New York State ivil Service Commission, 1949. 28 pp. lus.

State Distribution of Public Employent in 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 17 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1949. 24 pp. $1.

Housing

Reading List on Housing in the United States. Washington 25, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1949. 48 pp.

Libraries

Avenues and Vistas for Bringing Library Materials to Children and Young People. Proceedings of the Section on Public Library Administration, 13th Annual Institute of Government, 1948. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Division of Adult Education and Extension Services. 1949. 62 pp.

Parking Meters

Parking Meters in the United States. Year Ending December 31, 1948. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., 1949. 40 pp.

Planning

California Planning Progress 1948. Santa Barbara, California Chapter, American Institute of Planners, 1948. 36 pp. (Apply Tyler Suess, secretary-treasurer of Chapter, Planning Department, City Hall, Santa Barbara.)

A Landscape Program—Its Benefits to the Builder, Banker and Buyer. By William A. Dean. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, April 1949. 6 pp.

Planning by Americans—in Agriculture, Business, Labor, the Professions. 1949 Report to Members. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1949. 36 pp. illus.

Schools

School Enrollment of the Civilian Population, October 1948. Washington

25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1949. 10 pp.

Snow Removal

Snow and Ice Control in Cities Over 200,000 Population. Report of the APWA Committee on Street Cleaning and Snow Removal. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1949. 17 pp. $1.

Taxation and Finance

Actual Problems Involved in Setting Up Local Income Tax Administration. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* February 1949. 8 pp. 25 cents.

College and University Tax and "In Lieu" Payments to Municipalities. By Roy H. Owsley and Pauline Maris Mayo. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1948. 41 pp. $1.50.

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1947 (Cities Having Populations Over 25,000). By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. viii, 110 pp. 45 cents.

The Effect of the Local Government Act, 1948, on the Functions of Local Authorities in Relation to Rate Collection, including Compounding and Rating of Owners. By C. D. Bailey. London, Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, 1948. 16 pp.

The Goals of Taxation. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* January 1949. 12 pp. 25 cents.

The Oregon Withholding Tax. Chicago 37, Federation of Tax Administrators, 1949. 5 pp.

The Local Valuation Panels and Courts. By Noel A. D. Willshire. **Valuation and Rating in Scotland.** By C. H. Lockhart. London, The Incorporated Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, 1948. 20 and 15 pp. respectively.

Tort Liability

Liability in Public Recreation. By Donald B. Dyer and J. G. Lichtig. Appleton, Wisconsin, C. C. Nelson Publishing Company, 1949. 107 pp. $3.

Tourist Trade

Vacations—A Major Tennessee Industry. By George I. Whitlatch (in cooperation with Tennessee Tourist and Development Association). Nashville, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1949. 21 pp.

Traffic Safety

College and University Traffic Training. (A statement of principles to guide the development of college and university activities in the field of street and highway traffic control and safety.) By National Commission on Safety Education. Washington 6, D. C., National Education Association, 1949. 12 pp. illus. 20 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Emily Post's Motor Manners. The Bluebook of Traffic Etiquette. Washington 4, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, Inc., 1949. 46 pp. illus. 10 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Round-up of What's New in Traffic Safety. By Norman Damon. Chicago, Automotive Safety Foundation, 1948. 26 pp.

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500 'NON-POLITICAL' ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 282)

politics as candidates or sponsors are basic necessities to wholesomeness in the political scene. When such leaders neglect the new opportunities given them by the new political conditions, they are missing an opportunity to advance their towns. There can be no safety in letting the election process go without benefit of brains and leadership.